The Myth of a Finnish Munich *by Alter Brody*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

April 2, 1940

Paul Reynaud

TWENTY-ONE MINISTERS AND A CAT

A Cable from Switzerland

Flank Attack on the NLRB

by James Morison

New York's ALP Primary Fight

by Frank Goelet

It's Happening in Ireland

by Shaemas O'Sheel

GROPPER, REA, RICHTER, JOHNSON, CLINTON, AND OTHERS

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Between Ourselves

VICTOR GOLLANCZ of the English Left Book Club is annoyed with a remark by Allen Hutt in a recent issue of NM. Mr. Hutt said that for the first time in the club's history publisher Gollancz issued an anti-Soviet book. Gollancz replies that it isn't so. He has in the past published books critical of the Soviet Union and Leonard Woolf's *Barbarians at the Gates,* the work Hutt had in mind, is just one more. Mr. Gollancz also reminds us that he has to his credit many pro-Soviet books. Mr. Hutt replies that he never intended to give the impression that the Left Book Club as an organization is anti-Soviet. But he insists that the Woolf book is definitely against the Soviet Union and that its appearance in England was widely deplored by the left movement.

A strange thing befell an NM dime card and our collective hearts go out to the devoted reader who had been working hard to fill it. Mr. B. was strolling along a dark Manhattan street last week when a husky lad came up from behind and held him up. Now Mr. B. asks to be pardoned if he's a little late in turning in his contribution. We have rushed off another card, Mr. B. And please stay away from dark streets.

Readers and friends will have a great and pleasant opportunity to keep creditors away from our door April 5 at 8:30 p.m. An insider tells us that *Medicine Show,* for which we have taken over the entire New Yorker Theater, is a magnificent job done with all the verve and punch of the Living Newspaper. You can be sure that the ivory tower medicos in the hierarchy of the American Medical Association will not like the play—which should be sufficient recommendation for you to see it. Our budding Readers League, sponsors of the special preview, warn everyone that tickets are moving at a brisk pace. Prices scale down from $1.65 through $1.10, 83c, and 55c. Jean Stanley, at our office, will take your phone or mail order—461 Fourth Ave., NYC, or CAledonia 5-3076.

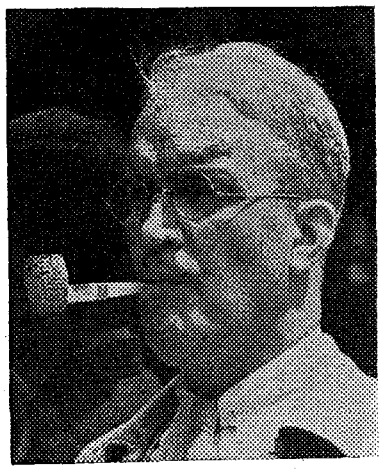
Latest flash about our art and manuscript auction is that Earl Robinson and John LaTouche have contributed the original of "Ballad for Americans." (Another sample of our artists' and writers' generosity.) Robinson and LaTouche's ballad has put the country on its heels. Several Sundays ago, Lawrence Tibbett and chorus sang it on the Ford hour. It was a soul-shaking performance. You will have a chance to bid (all proceeds to our Bill of Rights Fund) for it as well as for the first rate work of artmen Gropper, Rockwell Kent, Max Weber, Kuniyoshi, Harry Gottlieb, Crockett Johnson, Joe Jones, and a host of others. Auctioneers will include Arthur Kober, Ruth McKenney, Elliot Paul, John Spivak, William Blake, Bruce Minton, Tamiris, and other distinguished gavel pounders. Place: ACA Gallery, 50 West 8th St., NYC. Time: Sunday, April 7, 2:30 p. m. Refreshments (all sorts) free.

Attention Quaker City: A Bill of Rights Defense Rally for NM will be held in Philadelphia, April 14, 8:15 p. m., at the Town Hall, 150 North Broad St. Prospective speakers are Ruth McKenney, William Blake, Bruce Minton, Alvah Bessie, and Marc Blitzstein. Norris Wood of the Philadelphia Peoples Forum will preside.

If you've been wondering about the NM Readers League, here is what it is. The League plans to organize forums and house parties, get subscribers and in general spread NM around the country. League members in Oregon, Minnesota, and New York have already run Easter parties. If your home will hold more than ten people it's a natural for a cocktail party or just plain shindig. Get in touch with us and we'll help you organize one. In the meantime send a note to Eva May Wright, the League's national secretary, for details. League membership involves no financial obligation.

Bruce Minton will be back again at the Workers School teaching American history of the last two decades. The school's spring session begins on April 8, although enrollment starts much earlier. The school's announcement, as usual, is rich with courses ranging from political economy through science, philosophy, and labor journalism.

Keep a sharp lookout for NM issue out on the stands April 4. It will contain some topnotch features in honor of the nationwide anti-war demonstrations April 6.



Shaemas O'Sheel

Mr. O'Sheel has for many years been active in the cause of Irish freedom. He is also well known as a writer and critic. In the elections last November he was a candidate on the American Labor Party ticket for sheriff of Dutchess County, N. Y. Mr. O'Sheel was one of the progressive candidates who refused to support the ALP Dubinsky-Rose group.

Who's Who

PHILIPPE DEVAL is a French journalist who has contributed to NM before. . . . Frank Goelet is the pen name of a newspaperman who has covered New York politics for many years. . . . Alter Brody, the author of several books, has written frequently for NM on European affairs. . . . Major Allen Johnson was an officer of the 15th International Brigade during the Spanish civil war. . . . A. Landy was editor of the popular Questions and Answers department in NM last year. . . . Theodore Draper is a former foreign editor and foreign correspondent of NM. . . . Rolfe Humphries was co-editor with M. J. Bernadete of the loyalist anthology, *And Spain Sings.* In 1938 he was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship in poetry.

Flashbacks

MEMO to the Workers Alliance: On April 3 at half past twelve several thousand unemployed began their meeting in City Hall Park in New York. Said the chief speaker: "The world has always abounded with men, who, rather than toil to produce the wealth necessary to their subsistence, have contrived to strip others of the fruits of their labor, either by violence and bloodshed, or by swaggering pretentions to exclusive privileges. It is, however, chiefly by this latter mode of robbery, that the working classes of modern times are kept in debasement and poverty. Aristocrats have discovered that charters are safer weapons than swords; and that cant, falsehood, and hypocrisy serve all the purposes of the highwayman's pistol, while they leave their victims alive and fit for future exactions." The speaker presented a resolution which was adopted. It began "Resolved, That we solemnly pledge ourselves to one another, and to the laboring classes throughout the land, that we will unite and strive with our utmost vigor to effect such a reform that those who sow shall reap, and those who produce shall enjoy. . . ." The year of this speech and of this pledge of the unemployed was 1837.

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Two week's notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXV APRIL 2, 1940 NUMBER 2

Paul Reynaud—"21 Ministers and a Cat"

"The more it changes," say the French, "the more it is the same." The bankers stay in. Crisis in France.

Paris, by cable via Switzerland.

PAUL REYNAUD has formed a broad, but not a great Cabinet. The mediocrity of his government was revealed in his first press conference as prime minister when he recalled the numerical resemblance of his ministry to Georges Clemenceau's war Cabinet. "What a mistake," a member of the former Daladier government said in the lobby of the French Chamber, "to remind us of that. In Clemenceau's time we had a Cabinet of twenty-two men headed by a tiger; and now we have twenty-two ministers headed by a cat."

French politicians like to compare their leaders to animals. Daladier bore the name of the "bull of Vaucluse." For two years France witnessed the "wrestling match" between "bull Daladier" and "cat Reynaud." It was really a fight for the control of the Radical Socialist Party. Behind little, ambitious Reynaud stood the mighty belly of Edouard Herriot, who never forgave Daladier for having ousted him several years ago from the chairmanship of the Radical Socialist Party. This party, neither radical nor socialist, has 115 deputies in the Chamber without whose support no Cabinet can obtain a majority.

According to an unwritten rule in France no Cabinet is overturned in wartime by a hostile vote. Between 1914 and 1917 four French Cabinets, those of Viviani, Briand, Ribot, and Painleve resigned after having obtained an overwhelming vote of confidence. They resigned under pressure from outside Parliament. So did Daladier who three days before his resignation obtained a unanimous vote of confidence from the Senate, and against whom only two deputies voted in the last secret session. It was the sentiment of the masses which overthrew Daladier, and it was to check this mass sentiment that Paul Reynaud has been put in charge.

THE REYNAUD TRADITION

For a long time Reynaud has been the favorite fiscal genius of France's two hundred families. Himself a distinguished corporation lawyer, scion of wealthy ancestry, Paul Reynaud has for twelve years represented the sixth Paris district, centered around the Stock Exchange. Upon assuming control of the ministry of finance on November 1, 1938, he prepared those famous decrees of November 12 which aroused intense anger among the working class, spelled the betrayal of the Popular Front, and precipitated the general strike of November 30. "We must obey the laws of capitalism," said Reynaud "of which the primary law is profits." And so he raised taxes on consumers' goods, boosted the subway and bus fares, wrecked the public works program in favor of armaments, reduced pensions, fired forty thousand railway workers, manipulated the franc to a further devaluation. His cry was "business confidence" (a familiar one to Americans) and he got enough upper class confidence so that in April 1939 further decree laws were passed; by the outbreak of the war, the five-day week had disappeared, overtime had become compulsory, the Popular Front's social services had gone into the scrap heap, and workers in defense industries were doing sixty hours on two-thirds pay. Under his skillful direction, the price of tobacco has jumped 100 percent, the price of wine, 70 percent, and the prices of oil and coffee, 40 percent. He gave the new war for democracy Goering's slogan: "More production, less consumption." He gave France three meatless days a week. He made coffee and oil a rarity in the workers' districts. And he prepared the rationing of bread, sugar, and coal and the mobilization of women workers in industry.

It is said that Paul Reynaud was an "anti-Munich man" and that after Daladier's return from Munich he was among the six ministers who offered their resignations. But it is also true that these six heroes never resigned. Upon his elevation to the finance post, he supported every reactionary move of the Daladier government. He stayed in office when the Communist Party was suppressed and never uttered a single protest against Daladier's anti-Soviet policy. He differed from Daladier in that he wanted to become prime minister himself and favored closer collaboration with Blum's Socialist Party against the Communists. As servant and confidant of London's City, Reynaud is responsible for the Anglo-French "anschluss," providing for a more intensive exploitation of the colonies and the export market. France is reduced to an economic dominion of Britain: the lame are supporting the blind.

WAR ON THE HOME FRONT

France at war by no means offers the picture of unity which the kept press and foreign correspondents are painting. Never have class differences been so clearly outlined as in the last few months. When the Senate urged Daladier to pursue a more energetic war policy, everybody understood what was meant

THE Cabinet change in Paris is symptomatic of a deep developing crisis in French life. It is possible that the war may be accelerated this spring, but it is difficult to see why the fall of Daladier was necessary to bring this about, especially since Daladier is given the ministry of war. The elevation of Paul Reynaud is more significant. His name is associated with all the reactionary decrees since Nov. 12, 1938 which accompanied the post-Munich trend toward disaster, and culminated in the suppression of the Communists last fall. Reynaud's wizardry was supposed to solve the sickness of French economy; yet the figures show that after eighteen months in which the working week was extended to sixty hours, vacations with pay eliminated, public works stopped, taxes increased, women's labor mobilized and the franc devalued, French economy is more "sick" than ever.

The presence of three Socialists in his Cabinet, and three Socialist undersecretaries, fits into this pattern. The Socialists will be used to give the Cabinet a "broader base"; when the workers kick, the Socialists will be expected to calm them on the ground that the government has moved to the "left"! If the Cabinet shift is a barometer of ruling class despair, it is further proof of how Social Democracy betrays the interests of France.

Many people are impressed with this change because it comes in wartime; newspapers hail it as proving the vitality of French democracy. Nothing could be further from the truth. Reynaud's decree laws were passed after Munich by special powers. In April 1939 the Chamber of Deputies was deprived of the right to determine the budget. In July 1939 new elections were postponed for three years, more emergency decrees passed. And when the war broke the last vestiges of democracy were destroyed. No, democracy must not be measured by Cabinet changes. Democracy must be measured by whether or not the masses are benefiting or suffering from the policies of government. There is no doubt about the answer in France. And the opening of the trial of the forty-four Communist deputies (illegally deprived of their Chamber seats) is itself an indication of what is happening deep in the hearts and minds of the great French people. This trial is another Leipzig: in 1934 Dimitrov exposed fascism in Germany. In 1940 Bonte exposes fascization across the Rhine.

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by this formula. The venerable fathers of the Senate have no illusions about the possibility of an Allied attack against the Westwall so long as Allied arms production, including purchases in the United States, remains below the level of German production; so long as powerful neutrals, especially the United States, cannot be dragged into the war. The intensification of the war of which the Senate spoke in its resolution will take place on the home front.

Reports from the factories and the provincial centers are not encouraging to the ruling class. The outlawing of the Communist Party hardly suppressed its influence, which, especially in the last two months, has expanded. Several times since September the *"gardes mobiles,"* and even troops, have been sent to the great airplane and armament factories around Paris to crush unrest. According to Sarraut, Daladier's minister of Interior, 2,778 Communist members of different municipal councils have been suspended, 620 labor unions under Communist influence have been banned, and 675 Communist organizations shut down. Apart from the expulsion of the Communist deputies from the Chamber (elected by 1,500,000 Frenchmen), Sarraut boasted of his arrest of 3,400 "agitators" and the enforcement of eight thousand penalties. Nevertheless, *l'Humanite* is circulating in large quantities. Several underground newspapers are appearing at the front. Pamphlets by the Communist leaders, Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos, Gabriel Peri, and Andre Marty's "open letter" to Leon Blum, have become best-sellers. One deputy is reported to have told a secret session of the Chamber: "The whole country is in a state of high nervous tension which tomorrow may lead to revolutionary actions. And frankly, I don't know what to do about it."

To describe the state of the country as "nervousness" is to put it mildly. The country is in a state of bitterness. The workers are bitter because of political terror, excessive taxation, the rise in the cost of living and the scantiness of food supplies. The middle class is bitter because business is bad, and the tax collectors are implacable. The farmers are angered by the labor shortage, forced requisitions, and excessive taxation. The majority of the population does not know what the war is being fought for. Draining dry the resources of the country, costing a billion francs a day, taking human lives aimlessly, this war has brought only onerous, unbearable restrictions on personal freedom.

Against this "sickness of the country," as a leading politician called it, new prescriptions were demanded. The recipe Daladier-Reynaud-Chautemps didn't work any more, so President Lebrun prescribed a new one: Reynaud-Daladier-Chautemps. While Daladier tried to fight the opposition with terror and demagogy, Reynaud is going to fight it with demagogy and terror. The presence of three Socialist ministers in his Cabinet, his declaration before the Chamber that he is fighting Communism not as a doctrine of the left, but as treason, and the wholehearted support Blum gave in the Chamber to this anti-Communist policy are indications of a new effort to wean the embittered workers and peasants away from the Communist Party. The Socialist Party is torn by internal differences and divided into a Blum and a Paul Faure faction. The latter is in close contact with former prime minister Laval, desires an understanding with fascist Italy and Hitler, and spreads anti-Semitic propaganda against the Blum faction. The Socialist party as a whole does not represent in Parliament a notable obstacle for any government. But Blum and Paul Faure, deep as their enmity may be, are kept together by passionate anti-Communist hatred. And it is for anti-Communist purposes that the government of Paul Reynaud will use them.

Looking more closely at the composition of the Reynaud government one must note that the ouster of Georges Bonnet, main leader of the "Munichmen" and trusted servant of the bank Lazard Freres, has been balanced by the nomination of Lucien Lamoureux as minister of finance. The latter was as much a "Munichman" as Bonnet, and differs only in his representation of different banking interests. De Monzie and Pomeret have been kept in the Cabinet; their party, Union Socialiste Republicaine, which has five ministers in the Cabinet, was generally considered in the pay of the Germans last July. The curious phenomenon of their increase in strength is heightened by the nomination of Laurent-Eynac as air minister, a political friend of Pierre Laval, whose pro-Italian sympathies were written into the history of the Ethiopian scandals. Frossard's nomination as minister of propaganda and information (he received his first ministerial appointment from Laval and is a renegade from both the Communist and the Socialist parties) foreshadows an intensification of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda in the French press and radio.

But the most interesting appointment is that of Georges Mandel, minister of colonies, to the six-man inner war Cabinet. Mandel has been for twenty years the *eminence grise* of the French Parliament. Schooled as a journalist in Clemenceau's newspaper *l'Aurore* and *chef de cabinet* of the "Tiger" in his World War Cabinet, Mandel is a master of parliamentary intrigue and police methods.

John Heliker

A decided reactionary with innumerable ties to French finance and industry, Mandel was offered the Interior post by Reynaud, but refused because "in wartime the ministry of the Interior is always blamed for everything." He prefers to remain in the shadow of the inner war Cabinet which, although it includes all the defense ministers, will deal much more with the repression against the progressive forces of the country than with the "war against Hitlerism."

IMPERIALIST DILEMMA

Unable to keep peace, they made war. Unable to make war and unwilling to make peace, French imperialism entrusts its fate to men who are no match for the present crisis and who have inherited from their predecessors only cruel hatred of the heritage of the French Revolution. And the French Parliament, "purged" of the Communists, is worthy of these governments, whether they be called Daladier-Reynaud or vice versa. The debate in the Chamber and the vote which gave Reynaud a precarious majority of one, is proof of the intense confusion which the war has furthered among the representatives of bourgeois France. By barely one vote the Reynaud government escaped the dubious honor of being a one-day Cabinet. But in parliamentary circles it is strongly doubted that it will be able to survive more than one or two months. The race for a successor is already in full swing: Daladier, Laval, Flandin, Bonnet, and Frossard have begun their maneuvers.

The voice of the real France was not audible in the speeches of Paul Reynaud or Leon Blum or Louis Marin. It came from a courtroom where forty-four Communist deputies are defending before military justice the rights of the people. Asked his identity, Florimond Bonte asserted: "I am a deputy from Paris and more than that, I am a deputy from the glorious Saint-Antoine quarter, disqualified by illegal methods." From Saint-Antoine the people marched to storm the Bastille in the great French Revolution. Now French reaction is again building Bastilles, and the people express their hatred through Florimond Bonte.

The Reynaud Cabinet, with its contradictions, its seamy sides, its obvious inability to fire the imagination of even the Chamber, is an exact image of the despair in which the French ruling class finds itself. Daladier's inclusion as war minister hardly means that the war can be undertaken more vigorously than it might have been before the Daladier Cabinet fell. For the alternatives in the war remain the same: London and the General Staff will decide, and their decisions are hemmed in by well known frustrations. The real war will be undertaken with even more desperate measures against the French people —but here there is evidence of the spirit which Saint-Antoine made famous. The ministers are treading on eggshells. They know it—and so do the French people.

PHILIPPE DEVAL.

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All Aid to the Spanish Refugees

AN EDITORIAL

In the past weeks America has witnessed a renewed concern with the plight of the Spanish refugees in France. Mounted police have ridden down demonstrators before the French consulate in New York City; hundreds of prominent Americans have signed statements; many have personally visited, or telephoned, or telegraphed the French Embassy in Washington.

Those of us who have followed with heartsick apprehension the status of the Spanish loyalist since the Casado treachery could understand these actions. What sympathizer of republican Spain has not felt the deepest indignation at the tragic runaround the Spanish refugees have suffered in the French concentration camps? Jay Allen, whose name was associated with the work of relieving the lot of these Spaniards, wrote in *Survey Graphic* last November:

> France, at war, finds them [the Spanish refugees] an even greater problem. The children are being sent back to Spain when Franco authorities, claiming the parents to be there, ask for them. And remember that Franco's punitive "Law of Political Responsibilities" applies to everyone down to the age of fourteen. *All adults are under fearful pressure to go back.* . . . There is little hope of a change in the French attitude.

Mr. Allen urged humanitarians everywhere to work with utmost zeal to ameliorate the conditions of these brave folk. It was, therefore, with surprise and regret that the editors of NEW MASSES read the recent statement by Mr. Allen which does not seem to jibe with his desire for action to aid the refugees. More puzzling is the statement by Alvarez del Vayo, former Spanish foreign minister, who is quoted in the New York *Times,* March 22, to the effect that France is treating refugees *"in the old and honorable French tradition of hospitality to the political exile."* In truth the developments within the executive board of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign deeply trouble all friends of Spain. The editors of NEW MASSES have ascertained a number of facts that throw light on latest developments. We recommend that the article by Marc Frank on the First Continental Conference for Aid to Spanish Refugees, in the March 19 issue of NEW MASSES, be reread as background of the current events.

It would seem that Herman F. Reissig, Douglas Jacobs, and Dr. Samuel Guy Inman were sent to that conference as delegates with instructions *"to take action there in accordance with the program of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign."* Messrs. Reissig and Inman, and another delegate, John Rich of the American Friends Service Committee, objected violently to the conclusions adopted by the overwhelming majority of the conferees—that the French government was largely responsible for the lamentable conditions in the refugee camps.

Meanwhile, on March 9, the Refugee Campaign received from the International Coordinating Committee in Paris the text of a French government order to close the Spanish refugee centers in France and forcibly return to Spain, under guard, all those refugees who could not prove that they had relatives in the service of France. This order, known as the Menard circular, was to be effective March 15. In the absence of Mr. Reissig, Mr. Jacobs, the Campaign director, and John Sherman, organizational secretary, issued the text of this order to the press and immediately took steps to mobilize a protest movement. This met with the disapproval of Mr. Reissig, who contended that no action should be adopted until the order had been fully confirmed.

NEW MASSES learns that the following steps were taken to confirm the latter:

Inquiries were made at the French Embassy in Washington, the International Coordinating Committee and the International Commission for Spanish Child Refugees in Paris. The French Embassy stated it would inquire as to the authenticity of the order and later denied that any such order had been issued. No reply was received from the International Coordinating Committee, an ominous fact considering the censorship and lack of civil liberties in France. Mr. Kershner, director of the International Committee for Assistance to Spanish Child Refugees, cabled the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia on March 13:

> GOVERNMENT NOTIFIED PREFECTS NOT USE FORCE REPATRIATION PENDING EFFORTS FIND WORK STOP PREFECTS USE OWN DISCRETION BUT LITTLE FORCED EVACUATION.

A large number of friends of Spanish democracy took the position that Mr. Kershner's cable, in general, confirmed the evacuation order. They reasoned that the cable admitted the French authorities had been notified not to force repatriation *pending* efforts of the refugees to find work and that the prefects could use their own discretion, and that some forced evacuation *had* taken place. Despite Mr. Reissig's opposition the members of the staff of the Campaign continued to organize protests to the French government, basing their belief in the authenticity of the order on the known attitude of the French authorities, and on accounts of Spanish refugees recently arrived in this country. And after all, had not Mr. Allen himself written back in November, *"All adults are under fearful pressure to go back"? And that,* even before the question of the Menard order had arisen.

Simultaneously an independent protest movement had been organized in New York City. A picketline was thrown around the French consulate in New York March 15. The next day Mr. Reissig publicly disapproved of this demonstration, called it "illegal." At a meeting March 19, the National Executive Board of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign refused, by a slim majority, to approve the decisions of the Continental Conference and set up a reorganizing committee which subsequently dismissed Mr. Jacobs and Mr. Sherman. Investigation indicates that this slim majority was a result of a dictatorial policy which cut off full discussion on the conference decisions and the protests over the recent French government order, completely ignoring the expressed wishes of the chapters and of many important supporters of the campaign. Voting with Roger Baldwin and Dr. Inman in support of Mr. Reissig's position and the repudiation of the organization's program were such persons as W. W. Norton, Jay Allen, Paul Kellogg. The policy adopted by this group becomes particularly dubious in view of the fact that on March 12, Mr. Allen had written to Mr. Reissig saying: *"The communication from the Coordinating Committee I see no reason to disbelieve."* On March 14 John Rich of the Quakers had written the French ambassador a letter in which he quoted Mr. Kershner's cable and indicated that he himself accepted the order as a fact.

On March 20, a second and larger picketline was thrown around the French consulate in New York by the Emergency Committee. Five hundred police attacked the demonstra-

(Continued on page 18)

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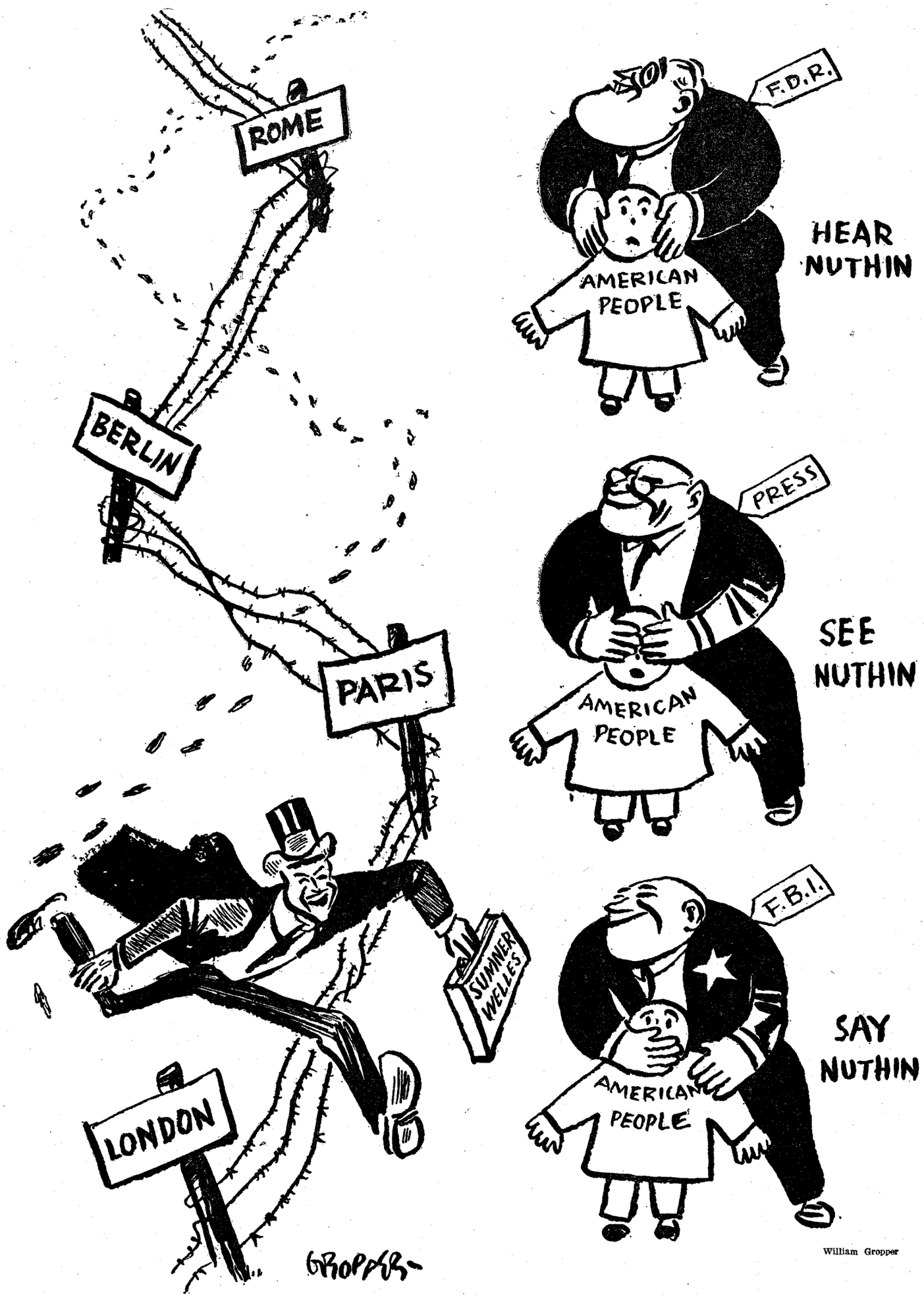

William Gropper

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The ALP Primary Fight

America's most promising third party movement goes to the polls April 2, to determine its direction. The issues and the men.

On April 2 voters of New York's American Labor Party, the most promising third party movement in the East, will go to the polls to determine control of their organization. Camouflaged somewhat by the official anti-Communist mist of the state leadership of the party, the bitter primary fight now raging involves issues of the broadest character and the highest importance to all progressives. Unquestionably the struggle reflects the deep-going divisions throughout the country. Coming as it does in a period of new-found unity between the White House and the once scorned money changers, the battle can only be viewed as part of the entire national scene.

Basic to the entire conflict is the attitude of the various forces in the Labor Party to the development of the Roosevelt administration and the war. The present ruling group—David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Alex Rose of the Hat, Cap, and Millinery Union, the Jewish *Daily Forward* group, and the Louis Waldman-led Social Democratic Federation—have taken their stand clearly. In October they jammed a resolution through a State Executive Committee (ten out of fifty present) calling for support of a pro-Chamberlain, unneutral policy, and later steamrollered it through an alleged citywide conference. This resolution, reeking with Red-baiting and anti-Soviet hatred, has since been made an article of faith disagreement with which is incompatible with the Dubinsky-Rose-Waldman conception of Labor Party membership.

MEMBERSHIP REVOLTS

While the resolution provided a natural demarcation point, the struggle broadened quickly into forms never envisaged by Dubinsky and Rose. Long restive under the autocratic control of the state executive, ALP branches throughout the state repudiated the resolution and organized a fight to unseat the leadership. The battle was hastened by the growth of anti-war sentiment in the trade union movement and particularly in the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The latter movement contributed more to the fight than was immediately perceptible. Beginning with the October resolution of the CIO ("Labor wants no war or any part of it") the Lewis-led section of American labor, as well as many AFL unions, sharpened its attitude toward the administration on the war question, social legislation, and a third term for Roosevelt. It became ever more clear, therefore, that the fight of Dubinsky and Rose was not just against Communists but against all labor and, particularly, against the CIO. But since the issue could not be brought forth that baldly it was necessary strategy for the Dubinsky-Waldman-Rose forces to make Communism the battleground. Anyone who doubted the holiness of the Allies' crusade, the direction of the Roosevelt policy or demanded a democratic discussion was a Red and was to be cast into the outer darkness.

The more frantically the leadership sought to stifle democratic discussion the more did the issue of democracy in the party arise to plague them. Liberals in the party who were not of one mind nevertheless protested the crude machine methods of the Dubinsky-Rose clique. Democracy in the labor and progressive movements became an issue around which many unionists and liberals gathered to oppose the state executive. The peculiar weakness of these labor leaders for avoiding democratic debate and control, while always inherent, was suffered in silence by the membership in the period when the party was more or less united on policy. Now more thoughtful Laborites see that the autocracy of the state executive is simply the means for carrying out pro-war Tammany policies. Hence the wide character of the opposition expressed through the recent formation of the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party. The progressives emphasize a program of uniting the majority of the party to return to the New Deal program abandoned by Roosevelt. Having won the leadership of the New York County organization after a protracted legal battle in which the Rose forces stalled desperately for time, the Progressive Committee now publishes a weekly newspaper, the *Citizen*. The committee has also placed tickets in the field in most of the counties of the state. The chief points of their program can be summarized as: (1) maintain strict American neutrality, (2) return to the legislative program of the New Deal, (3) win democracy in the American Labor Party.

Even the persevering use of millionaire-Laborite George Backer's New York *Post*, termed the English edition of the Jewish *Daily Forward* by irreverent souls, seems to have no effect on the growing progressive strength. Led by Morris Watson, international vice president of the American Newspaper Guild, and including such fighters as Pres. Michael J. Quill of the Transport Workers Union, Eugene P. Connolly, the newly elected New York County ALP chairman, and scores of well known unionists and liberals, the Progressive Committee looks optimistically on its chances.

THE NATIONAL ELECTION

The fight is of more than passing interest to the major parties in the country when one remembers that New York's forty-seven electoral votes may decide the 1940 elections. In 1938 Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for governor, received more votes on the GOP line than Lehman on the Democratic line. Lehman won only because to his Democratic votes were added 350,000 ALP votes. As the situation now stands the Democratic candidates will probably be unable to carry New York unless they get the endorsement of the ALP and appear on the ALP line. Hence James Farley may be pardoned if he has more than an academic interest in the outcome of the April 2 primary fight.

Keenly conscious of the need to deliver the ALP at any cost to the bigwigs of the Democratic convention, the ALP leadership is leaving no stone unturned to keep its machine control. Quickly brought to task by the progressives for using the official machinery of the party to maintain their own leadership, Messrs. Dubinsky and Rose got together a "Liberal and Labor Committee to Safeguard the ALP." Resurrected from political obscurity to serve as chairman was the former commissioner of accounts and ex-Socialist, Paul Blanshard. The treasurer, significantly enough, is Frederick F. Umhey, a lawyer who is also executive secretary of Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union. As vice chairman the committee has the ineffable Luigi Antonini of the ILGWU, who once referred to Louis Waldman as a "Finkelstein monster." Other committee members are Morris L. Ernst, "liberal" contact man for Martin Dies; Alexander Kahn, business manager of the Jewish *Daily Forward;* Harry W. Laidler, the Norman Thomas representative, and a few liberals dazzled by a vista of new opportunities.

A special message sent to the enrolled voters of the party by this committee coyly suggests that "there had been rumors for some time that the Communists had penetrated the ranks of the ALP and were determined to use it for a 'transmission belt' for their own purposes." But no further back than last May, the same "rumor" was denied by no less a group than the State Executive Committee of the ALP, including Alex Rose and Luigi Antonini. Then they declared in answer to attacks by Louis Waldman that "we do not know of any single member of our party who is also affiliated with the Communist Party." The Executive Committee also noted then that: "His [Waldman's] Communist name calling reminds one of the days when President Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia were given similar epithets. Louis Waldman himself was called a Communist by his Republican opponents in the last election."

The stinger in the heady brew now being concocted by the Labor and Liberal Committee can be found in the same statement of the State Executive Committee referring to the newly discovered charges of Communists on Labor Party committees: "His [Waldman's]

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insincerity can be further shown by the fact that for two and a half years as a member of the State Executive Committee he never made the charges [of Communist "infiltration"] he now makes . . ." If it was insincere of Louis Waldman to make these charges in May why was it not insincere of the State Executive Committee to make the same charges in October? If there was no "infiltration" in May, why was "infiltration" suddenly discovered in October?

The Communist bogy is of course nonsense. The attitude of the Communist Party toward the ALP is a matter of public record. The Communist Party viewed the inception of the ALP, despite the character of its leadership, as a progressive step, although by no means a complete one, toward the independent political action of labor. It gave general endorsement of such a step in 1936 although it did not withdraw its candidate in favor of the presidential candidate of the ALP. In the 1937 municipal and state Assembly elections the Communist Party withdrew its candidates in favor of those of the ALP and definitely helped to elect ALP men to office. In 1938 the Communist Party again withdrew its candidates in favor of those of the ALP with one exception, and cooperated in other ways. Alex Rose and his friends who now claim that they at no time collaborated with the Communists are demonstrable liars. It may be necessary to remind Mr. Rose in more detail of the character, dates, and places of such cooperation.

Another accusation against the Communists that falls ridiculously flat is that of "dual allegiance," one of the favorite charges slung at the progressives. This is particularly ironic because one of the members of the Liberal and Labor Committee is none other than Norman Thomas who has already been nominated for President by the Socialist Party in a number of states. Query: Is it "dual allegiance" for Norman Thomas to be a member of the ALP, pledged to the support of Roosevelt for a third term and then file for president on the Socialist ticket? Or is that permissible dualism?

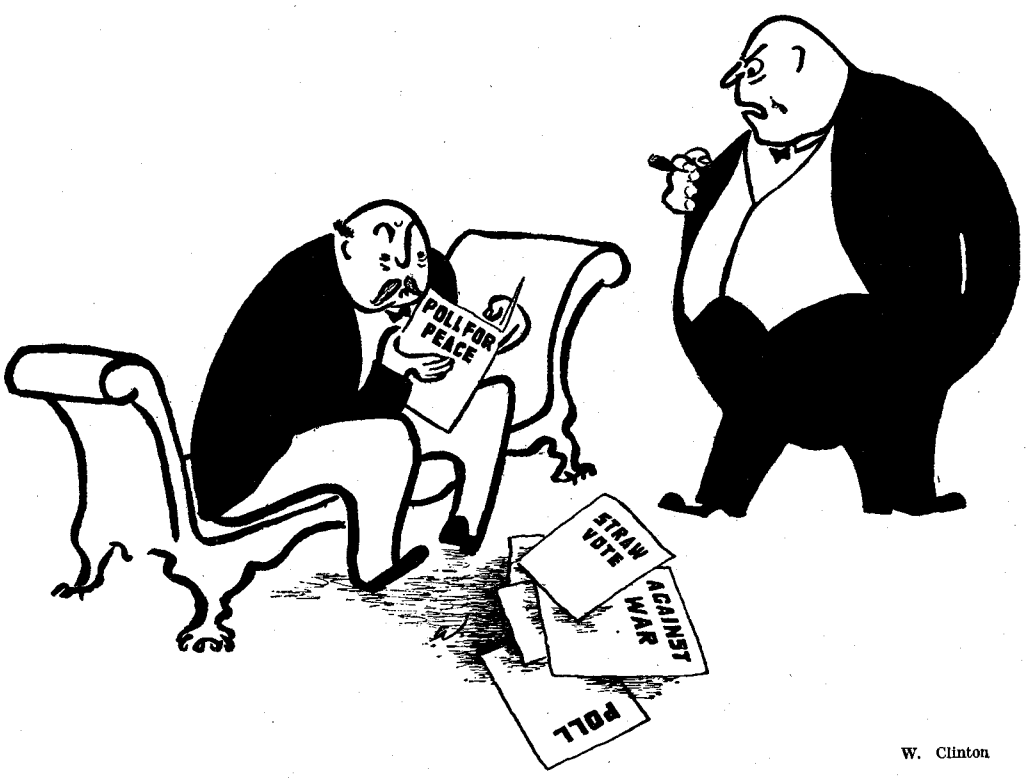
Perhaps nothing indicates better the actual character of the Labor Party under the present regime than an analysis of the composition of the State Executive Committee. Of its fifty members twenty-six are officials of three garment unions—the ILGWU, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers. The ILGWU has the largest single delegation, and if one counts the attorneys for these unions—and these gentlemen, like the proverbial oxen, know their masters' cribs—the three garment unions have better than a two-thirds control of the State Executive Committee. Because the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has played a rather passive role in the Labor Party, control in effect has been vested in the hands of David Dubinsky and Alex Rose. Since Mr. Rose is known to have the courage of Mr. Dubinsky's convictions, it is the policies of the latter in the general labor movement which have been faithfully mirrored in the American Labor Party. A coalition of the needle trades crowd, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Jewish *Daily Forward* groups has actually ruled the party, with the party machinery in the hands of the needle trades czars, and public offices tossed in the main to the Social Democratic Federation group.

All of which gives rise to a fundamental conclusion: The ALP has not been and is not now an inclusive labor party. Victory by the progressives on April 2 will begin the process in that direction. A few figures will illustrate this. The ALP enrollment in New York City in 1939 was some 136,000. In the assembly districts of New York City more than 65 percent of the enrollees are not trade unionists. Thus, about forty-eight thousand ALP enrollees come from two hundred unions. About 10 percent of these were estimated to be members of the ILGWU and the Millinery Workers, and yet the total membership of these two unions in New York City is more than 125,000. What has happened to all these people whom Messrs. Dubinsky, Antonini, and Rose purport to represent? The answer is obvious. They suffer Messrs. Dubinsky, Rose, et al, in their unions because of job control. They are under no compulsion, however, to enroll in the Labor Party or vote Labor, and hence they do as they please in the polling place. Or take it another way. Mr. Rose claims that the ALP now has unions with some 400,000 members affiliated to it. Query: Why don't these 400,000, who with their families and friends add up to about a million people, enroll? Yet the 1939 enrollment in the city was a mere 136,000—a drop of more than 30 percent from 1938. The bankruptcy of the ALP leadership can be seen even more clearly by its vote losses. In 1937 it polled 482,000 for Mayor LaGuardia. In 1938 it polled about 350,000 for Governor Lehman. In 1939 the total first-choice vote for councilman was about 225,000—all of which parallels the declining trend in the party's enrollment figures.

THE PRIMARY FIGHT

Win, lose or draw, however, progressives see the April 2 primary fight as part of the fight for a third party in New York State. They realize that even victory does not solve the third party question. The great masses of the CIO workers, persistently rebuffed by the Rose-Dubinsky leadership, will have to be won for the party. The AFL unions, which in New York State have been traditionally under the Tammany wing, will have to be approached seriously and realistically. A bold and courageous approach will have to be made to the farmers whose constitutional Republicanism is simply the thin shell of habit under which powerful economic pulses beat. The city middle classes who have long sought some new and independent vehicle for political action will have to be won. If the progressives view their tasks correctly, they will undoubtedly be able to accomplish much in New York and contribute greatly to the development of a powerful anti-imperialist and peace party in the United States. Victory for the progressives in the American Labor Party in the primary on Tuesday, April 2, will be a decisive and inspiring achievement for the entire progressive and labor movement.

FRANK GOELET.



W. Clinton

"Don't worry about what our PEOPLE say, Sir Reginald. They're a bunch of Reds!"

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Flank Attack on the NLRB

The National Association of Manufacturers has been gunning for it. FDR "forecast his own sharp turn to the right with the Leiserson appointment." The meaning of the present maneuvers.

Washington, D. C.

SPRING is here. The crocuses are blooming in the White House garden, and traditional children rolled traditional eggs on the lawn on Easter Monday. Yet there is a tenseness, an air of expectancy at variance with the warmth of the season. At the Capitol, Congress is waiting. Federal departments and bureaus are marking time. Even the President has been more or less silent, not impossibly owing to a cold these last few days.

But in the offices of the National Labor Relations Board in the Shoreham Building, an oldish structure just around the corner from Mr. Roosevelt's temporary home, the jitters are rampant. Here are the men who have directed the operations of the great national board to enforce collective bargaining between capital and labor. In general they have done a good job. Mistakes have been made, as mistakes were certain to be made in the complex organization of a new type of administration, new at least to the anarchically individualistic American industrial world.

The officials of the NLRB had the jitters the other day when I dropped in at the Shoreham Building because they were undergoing a brutal attack in a war of nerves. For weeks their enemies in Congress and out have been pouring verbal hot shot upon them. The board has been accused—unofficially, of course, in the newspapers—of maladministration, inefficiency, lobbying, favoritism, and Communism. Special understanding of the technique of political character assassination is required to bolster courage in a campaign designed to destroy progressive reform. The enemies of the NLRA are many and powerful. They have enjoyed the cooperation of press and politicians, even within the administration, as well as that of officials of the board itself.

GUNNING FOR THE BOARD

Ever since the Wagner act slipped through Congress in 1935 the nearly omnipotent industrial-financial overlords of the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce have been gunning for it. They paid a corps of corporation lawyers a pretty stipend to prepare a worthless brief attacking its constitutionality. They fought with claws, teeth, and Liberty League attorneys to obstruct the board during the difficult early months when administrative procedure had to be conjured out of a complex of hearings on hundreds of complaints brought by workers. The bosses received a stunning jolt to their several chins when the Supreme Court sustained the NLRB in five selected cases (selected by industrialists) in the spring of 1937. Indeed, the NLRB's judicial record of legality in interpretation of the basic law is attested to by the fact that of twenty-two cases carried to the Supreme Court, eighteen decisions upheld NLRB rulings, two modifications, and two reversals were recorded. No other government board has received such support from the highest court.

Three years have passed and the time has been well spent—and paid for—by the same forces which are now ganging up to smash social legislation in all fields. Until Dr. William M. Leiserson was appointed last spring to succeed Donald Wakefield Smith as board member, the NLRB was doing too excellent a job to please employers and their political henchmen. A new and moral code governing relations between boss and worker, one that placed the worker on a plane more closely approximating equality with the employer, was in process. Then Mr. Roosevelt forecast his own sharp turn to the right with the Leiserson appointment. He gave the enemies of the NLRA representation within the board itself, enabling them to use files and records—as has since been proved—to launch from within a devastating public attack, not against the principles upon which the NLRA was founded, but upon the personnel which administers the present law.

Chief actors in the drama are Chairman J. Warren Madden, his associate board members Dr. Leiserson and Edwin Smith, and Nathan Witt, secretary of the board. Mr. Madden and Mr. Smith carried out the early policies of the NLRB in association with Donald Wakefield Smith, in a manner surprisingly fair for a federal bureau in the field of industrial relations. Reactionary attack, led by AFL top-hatters, was first leveled at D. W. Smith. His replacement by Dr. Leiserson on July 1, 1939, ended the period of nearly unanimous decisions by the board. Dr. Leiserson has frequently dissented. He is not openly a foe of the NLRA. On the contrary, he is apparently its most zealous defender, one who uses hairsplitting technicalities as a reason for dissent. At the same time, he discovered early in his board career a key to the door through which political criticism might enter. He directed his attack in the main upon Nathan Witt, secretary of the board.

The three-man NLRB is engaged in the survey of hundreds of cases scattered over its twenty-two regional subdivisions. The Washington offices must pass upon broad general principles, act as a bottleneck for the nation's organized labor in its contest with organized capital. Through the secretary's office flow detailed analyses from the regional offices; Mr. Witt supervises case development in the field to the extent that the Washington office participates therein; his office is involved in labor relations cases where hearings are authorized. Although he possesses no administrative functions, he may be a determining factor in many disputes.

HOUSE INQUISITION

Without rising to the defense of Mr. Witt, it may be pointed out that he is suited for such a task by experience and qualification. He was on the legal staff of the AAA and a member of the legal staff of the first Labor Relations Board. Among his sponsors are Lloyd K. Garrison, dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School, John M. Carmody, head of the Federal Works Agency, Prof. H. A. Millis of the University of Chicago and Solicitor General Francis Biddle. At first charges of Communism were leveled against him. With Dr. Leiserson's assistance these charges have now been modified; Witt is accused of inefficiency. Government agencies characteristically develop friction between local regional offices and the Washington center. Dr. Leiserson was able to obtain support for his criticism of Mr. Witt from administrators in four of the twenty-two regional offices, who signed a statement which has fallen into the hands of the House "Inquisitorial" committee headed by the notorious Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia.

Clouds had been gathering for several months when Howard W. Smith came into the picture. A Senate committee had held hearings in April. The House Committee on Labor listened to witnesses in May. In July the House passed a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of five to investigate the act. What was in the minds of the ultra-reactionary leadership became plain when they plucked Mr. Smith out of his downy bed and set him to work.

Mr. Smith is a quiet, simple small-town banker and churchman, whose face droops above his traditional wing collar like a Saint Bernard's. He is too picturesquely typical to be real. But he is real, too real. A tory Democrat to the core, a party man, he has been able to return to Congress year after year despite votes against every one of the New Deal reforms, including the National Labor Relations Act. Reason? The poll tax. The poll tax serves the Glass-Byrd machine in Virginia, whence Mr. Smith hails. It enabled him to defeat popular, young William E. Dodd, Jr., in 1938. The man who has just guided three of his five committeemen toward formulation of amendments which would wreck the NLRA in spirit and life is one of the excrescences of that political system which is bred by white chauvinism and class misrule. Kenneth Crawford, now president of the American Newspaper Guild, exposed Mr. Smith's connection with the Gauley Bridge

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silicosis mass tragedy some years ago. At that time Mr. Smith, theoretically representing all the people, is said to have acted as adviser to Rinehart and Dennis, the Gauley Bridge construction contractors, and the West Virginia lawyers who protected Rinehart and Dennis from civil and criminal prosecution.

Linked to Rinehart and Dennis were two subsidiaries of the giant Union Carbide and Carbon Co., for whom it was alleged that the contractors were stealing waterpower, accepting public moneys for the job of digging a tunnel three and a half miles long between two watersheds. How silica was discovered, how the two thousand Negro workers imported from states south of Virginia were exposed to the dread silica dust, how fifteen hundred developed the disease and 466 died in the first five years after completion of the job is one of the most gruesome stories in American history. Mr. Smith was on the side of the devil—the Union Carbide and Carbon Co., at the time when Congressman Vito Marcantonio was working to bring the mass murderers to justice. Mr. Smith, says Mr. Crawford, is the kind of man whose career is remote from those of his people, so remote, it might be added, that he works contrary to all their interests, against relief, social security, wage and hour legislation—and the NLRA.

REACTIONARY AMENDMENTS

The Smith committee has submitted a series of proposed amendments to the NLRA. These proposals go to both root and branch. Where simplicity governs procedure in hearings before the NLRB today, the committee would separate "prosecuting" administrative and judicial functions, permitting the board to retain only judicial rights. The board would lose its initiative in calling elections at plants; to employers would be awarded a leverage against workers of which they are now deprived. They could call for an election whenever they pleased, which would be before union organization could get under way. The board would lose its function of intervening in inter-union jurisdictional disputes. Employers would regain that coercive "freedom of speech" which would enable them to attack union organization by meetings and literature. Compulsory contracts would be denied. A six months' limitation on workers, both as to submission of complaints and receipt of back pay, would play into the hands of employers, who would be able to delay action by the NLRB through legal technicalities. Legal rules of evidence would be incorporated into NLRB procedure, making this type of delay possible. Court review would be permitted in jurisdictional disputes and also review of board decisions, thus reducing the board to an appendage to the judiciary. Finally, Mr. Smith would remove from the act that clause which declares collective bargaining to be the policy of the United States. You can see without glasses what he is driving at.

Clearly this program is one tailored to fit the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce. John L. Lewis recently exposed the fact that the leadership of the AFL, which has conspired its own special NLRA-wrecking plot, has worked sword in scabbard with the NAM. The AFL amendments are incorporated into the Walsh-McCormick bill, also before Congress. The AFL bureaucracy seems curiously concerned with employers' rights. It would, like Representative Smith, permit employers to launch verbal and written attacks upon unions. It would enable employers, as would Mr. Smith, to initiate representation proceedings. It would grant them subpoena powers. It would open records to employers, thus permitting them to build blacklists.

Mr. Lewis revealed that Joseph Padway, AFL chief counsel, in preparing these amendments, collaborated with attorneys for corporations which had been among the most notorious violators of the NLRA. Documents also prove that Mr. Padway, with William Green's knowledge, consulted with and received memoranda from Earl F. Reed, Ernest S. Ballard, and Gilbert H. Montague, representing variously Weirton Steel, Columbian Enamel and Stamping, Mid-States Gummed Paper, Electric Boat, Standard Steel Works, and Baldwin Locomotive, all involved in cases before the board. Testimony before the La-Follette committee shows that these corporations had spent $150,000 for munitions, and were clients of Railway Audit and Inspection, Pinkerton, and other labor spy agencies.

The line-up of legal sabotage of the act is thus developed, with certain AFL executives clearly playing the game of the NAM and the US Chamber of Commerce.

SENATOR WAGNER'S ROLE

Senator Wagner has, of course, attacked the Smith proposals, but his attack is also an acceptance of reactionary criticism. He seemingly defends the act against its most bitter enemies, yet at the same time agrees with the Leiserson-led, Roosevelt-inspired tactic of destruction from within. The terms of Chairman Madden and Edwin Smith do not expire until 1941. The employer associations demand their blood here and now—for this is 1940, a presidential campaign year. To this pressure Senator Wagner has yielded. Instead of supplementing the present law with amendments that would strengthen the board's authority, he would diffuse and disrupt its work by amendment to permit the establishment of a five-man board. Opponents of Roosevelt's 1937 plan to liberalize the Supreme Court by increasing its membership to fifteen called this "packing." They are now engaged in a plan to pack the NLRB for their own purposes. And Mr. Wagner now sponsors the same tactic, only this time on the other side of the fence.

In this scheme, Congresswoman Mary T. Norton, chairman of the House Committee on Labor, plays her sizable role. Although Mrs. Norton's committee is one of the House's better exhibits in political morality, it does contain a few choice specimens such as Claire Hoffman of Michigan and Bruce Barton of New York. Here and there are also a few honest liberals. The Norton committee in executive session has been considering the Smith proposals. It has been rejecting most of them, but it has already gone on record for the Wagner compromise, the five-man board.

Work of the NLRB is divided into two great divisions: complaints against unfair labor practices and union representation cases. Into the latter category falls the conflict between craft and industrial unionism, between AFL and CIO. Of course this conflict is not simple; company unionism, independent unionism complicate it. From the AFL has come a complaint that the NLRB is pro-CIO. Chairman Madden of the board replies:

> Despite the AFL's charge of bias, it is still making extensive use of the board's facilities. Its proportion of all cases filed with the board actually rose from 35 percent in 1938 to 43 percent in 1939. In 1939 it filed more cases, 2994, than the CIO did,

Evening, Above Washington's Crossing

Passing the canal and the bridge, nine
or ten men spread out silently at the edge
of the river; a row of tired men at evening,
poorly paid, watch this downward drift,
the Delaware in its spring-swollen lavage
of the valley, at their backs one state,
in front of them another; they have come,
after work, straight from the factory
to this presence, wide sheet of spring
laid open in its cold flow
of restoration; standing here they will
get strength from the flood pouring
wide and cold, cold with upward miles
of ice; they need strength, they need
width and coldness and returning power:
this is the crossing which their fathers made.

MILLEN BRAND.

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2902. Attorneys for the board show that in 178 cases in which AFL unions asked for craft units, in only twenty-eight cases was this denied; in eight others the claims of AFL unions were granted to some craft groups and denied to others. In several of these cases only one or two employees had requested craft representation.

Other statistics show that in direct contests between AFL and CIO, the AFL won 108 elections, the CIO seventy-six. In numerical totals, CIO representation shows a larger number of individual workers involved in cases brought before the board: 624,965 by the CIO against 225,917 by the AFL during the fiscal year 1938-39. Obviously this difference is due to the fact that the CIO industrial units are larger than the AFL craft units. Objectively, of course, the statistics reveal the trend toward industrial unionism and nothing more.

THE CIO FOR THE DEFENSE

The CIO calls for constructive amendment to the NLRA. Enforcement provisions of the present law make it possible for determined anti-labor corporations such as those in Little Steel, Ford, etc., to violate the spirit and intent of the law. Criminal penalties are asked for law infringement, thus bringing the NLRA into line with the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Railway Labor Act. Government contracts would be denied employers found guilty of NLRA violation, such as Bethlehem Steel, Douglas Aircraft, and Standard Oil of New Jersey. The CIO would also establish in law the broad principle of industrial contracts as a *sine qua non* of industrial peace.

Pointing to the effect of Dr. Leiserson's appointment, Philip Murray, vice president of the CIO, criticizes the NLRB's yielding to the demands of Homer Martin for an election in motor plants last year, as an example of how labor strife may be incited by board action. Martin's splitting tactics in the United Automobile Workers, his move from CIO into AFL, received little or no support from workers. Though Martin represented an insignificant minority, he demanded plant elections and the board acceded to his request. Mr. Murray charges that this action aided the AFL policy of disorganization. Subsequently Martin was exposed as having been in contact with Ford and other anti-labor forces.

In steel similar bending to the will of a small group of craftsmen in the Walworth Corporation of Greensburg, Pa., caused confusion and strike threats. Here neither the workers nor the employers wanted an election. Both were satisfied with the CIO contract. Of 1,947 workers in the plant, only twenty-eight were certified as craftsmen, only ten out of twenty voting favored an AFL union. One more vote would have created a fissure in the solid industrial union structure. In the metal trades 89 percent of all elections conducted by the board certified CIO representation. Contracts were signed with General Electric, RCA, and others, according to James J. Matles of the Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. Yet two hundred machinists in the RCA were permitted to introduce a petition for an election. Pattern makers in the same plant were recognized by the board, although only two such individuals could be found in favor of a craft union. In coal the board reopened a contract despite the fact that operators and miners agreed to a closed shop. They decided that a worker who had left the United Mine Workers of America must be reemployed. As a result 500,000 miners were on strike for six weeks; the union was compelled to spend $2,500,000. These examples of faulty board work provide a guide, says the CIO, to what will occur if the board is expanded from three to five—if two more Dr. Leisersons are added.

There is still time to frustrate the Smith-NAM-Wagner-Roosevelt plans, all of which have the common purpose of destroying the legal base of collective bargaining. The House committee will continue in executive session this week, reviewing the Smith amendments. It is likely that the powerful reactionaries in the Rules committee will permit open debate and amendment on the floor of the House. Any or all of the destructive amendments may come to a vote, with or without record.

Amendment will then face action in the Senate where hostility to the act will be more concealed. A conference-committee decision may determine, in the last days of the present Congress, the fate of a law that closely affects the welfare of millions of American workers, who seek a guarantee of pay, hours, and working conditions through unions of their own choosing. Beneath the surface of the troubled political sea casual observers may fail to perceive the deep purpose of reaction. The CIO has presented a notable 1940 legislative program for jobs, security, and peace. Industrial unionism has taken political issue with the masters of the land. Expansion of social security and old age pensions, an adequate relief, health and housing programs, and taxation upon excess profits, upon the upper brackets in the income structure—these are among the CIO demands.

Defense of the present NLRA, further implementation of its powers by amendments such as those proposed by the CIO, are therefore on the order of the day—if America is to be peaceful and progressive in 1941.

JAMES MORISON.

Mischa Richter

"Know what? A specter! It's haunting Europe!"

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It's Happening in Ireland

Shaemas O'Sheel tells the Irish Republican Army's side of the argument. "The heirs of an unfinished war."

THERE is a song that has been sung at countless Irish gatherings around the world. It isn't high poetry; it is set, slapdash and awkwardly, to the air of "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching." But it is worth study at this time, and I give you the first stanza and chorus:

High upon the gallows-tree
Stood the noble-hearted three
By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;
But they met him face to face
With the courage of their race
And they went with souls undaunted to their doom:

"God save Ireland!" said the heroes,
"God save Ireland!" say we all,
Whether on the scaffold high
Or the battlefield we die,
Oh, what matter when for Erin dear we fall!

Thus lives the memory of the Manchester martyrs—Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, hanged in Manchester jail one morning in 1867, on "evidence" so flimsy that even the decent minority of English journalists protested.

The "evidence" against Peter Barnes and James Richards was even flimsier. They met death in the same spirit, saluting the Irish republic, uncowed by the British hangman. That was in Birmingham jail, in February 1940.

Thus in seventy-three years, despite some showy external changes, the essential relations between the Irish people and the British empire have not changed. Recognition of that fact is the beginning of wisdom if you would understand the Irish situation today, and particularly the activities of the Irish Republican Army.

The Manchester martyrs were hanged because an English turnkey was accidentally killed during the rescue of two Fenian prisoners by other Fenians in an English city. In English official eyes the Fenians—the IRA of that day—were a lawless mob. In Irish eyes they were an Irish military force operating on enemy soil; after all, the enemy had operated devastatingly on Irish soil for seven hundred years. The Birmingham martyrs were hanged because several Englishmen were killed or wounded in an explosion in England—in English eyes a dastardly, anarchistic crime; in Irish eyes, another unfortunate and unintended result of an Irish military operation on enemy soil.

BACKGROUND OF REBELLION

The Fenians who rescued Captains Kelly and Deasy in Manchester also conducted other operations in England during the sixties, seventies, and eighties: example, the dynamiting of Chester Castle. Simultaneously with Fenian activities there went forward in Ireland one of the world's bitterest agrarian wars and one of history's most dramatic parliamentary agitations. Moreover, masses of English workers spoke up for agrarian reform and Home Rule for Ireland. But Irish parliamentarians and English workers were neatly betrayed at the right moment, and Home Rule became the mere meal ticket of as shabby a crowd of politicians as history exhibits. Carrying the war to England, however, plus an agrarian campaign liberally punctuated by the shooting of landlords, got results. Gladstone confessed that "the intensity of Fenianism" compelled extensive reforms in the Irish land and governmental systems. In such facts is rooted the Fenian credo that "England heeds nothing but force."

It was this Fenian tradition, passed on by Tom Clarke to Padraic Pearse, Sean MacDermot, and other young men, plus a tremendous new factor, a class-conscious proletariat organized on military lines by the most far-seeing of Irishmen, James Connolly, that gave us the glory of Easter Week, 1916. But the army with banners which fought openly under Pearse and Connolly was blasted into surrender by British artillery within that week. The "army without banners" which resumed the fight in 1918, by guerrilla tactics won the Treaty of 1921, giving Ireland a limited but potentially useful installment of freedom.

By a substantial majority the war-weary Irish people ratified the treaty. Clearly the cue for Republicans was to use the Free State machinery to elect a Republican majority to Dail Eireann. It is easy to deplore a lost opportunity, but more useful to understand the actual course and logic of events. Thousands of young Republicans, at a high pitch of excitement, were persuaded by a few fanatically sincere leaders that the treaty was treason to the sacred Cause. Here was a storm made to order for the devious Mr. De Valera to ride! He had been the first to lower the Republican demand. He was responsible for the treaty. Millions of dollars had been given him in America, and he used the money to split the Irish movement in America, thus releasing the British government from its fear of American public opinion. Meanwhile for want of a little of that money the fighting boys in Ireland were facing the Black-and-Tans with empty automatics, and few enough of them. Yet now this sinister master of verbal necromancy put himself at the head of the irreconcilables. Immune from arrest because the Griffith, Collins, and Cosgrave regimes did not dare make him a martyr, the former president of the Council had but to await the inevitable deaths of Brugha, Mellows, and Rory O'Connor; when the red tide of civil war receded, behold the Republican cause was centered and personified in Eamon De Valera, whom millions of Irish at home and abroad, sullenly boycotting the Free State, acknowledged as president of a republic which, though not *de facto,* remained to them *de jure.*

DE VALERA'S TRICK

But the pretense of ignoring an elected, majority-supported native government was a quixotic business which no great mass of people could long continue; common sense and the impact of daily living worked inexorably against it. De Valera played out the farce until the moment came when, public impatience with the failure of the millennium to arrive being directed against Cosgrave, he perceived that he could carry an election. Then out of his hat came a formula which permitted his followers to vote and to enter the Dail. De Valera became chief of state; since then he has been engaged in progressive betrayal of the republic.

When the majority of Republicans followed De Valera to the polls, it was because they believed that was the way to the republic. When the majority of the electorate put him in power, they gave him a mandate to establish the republic anew. And, to be sure, he abolished the oath of allegiance to the British crown, revived the ancient name of Eire, rewrote the Constitution. But that these were mere sops to wean the people from the republic became suddenly evident at the time of the abdication of Edward VIII. Had Mr. De Valera been a true separatist, he might have found ways to turn this dramatic event to Ireland's advantage; but at least he would have ignored it. The very core of Irish nationalism is the concept of the British connection as a matter of coercion, to be acknowledged only under duress, to be ignored when possible. De Valera, however, like any provincial politician, like a Mackenzie King or a Hepburn, summoned a dazed Dail in special session and jammed through an act acknowledging the accession of George VI. Thus for the first time in seven centuries of Anglo-Irish history the suzerainty of the British crown was acknowledged by a body having authority to speak in the name of the Irish people.

A minority of irreconcilables deserted De Valera when he entered the Dail. Their unchangeable allegiance was to the republic proclaimed in 1916 and set up in 1918. They elected a new "president," maintained the shadowy forms of a "government." Had De Valera carried out his mandate, this devotion of a few fanatics to the pale wraith of a defeated ideal would have seemed both pathetic and ludicrous. But in the light of actual events, it acquired moral and spiritual validity and political importance. And there was noth-

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ing ludicrous in the fact that this fugitive "government" began a new recruiting campaign among the young men of Ireland. For the force it recruited is the new IRA which has so dramatically broken through the smooth front of British imperialism's "democratic" pretensions, even onto the front pages of the world's press.

Now most people in Ireland, like most people everywhere, are chiefly intent on the round of daily living; work or the search for work, eating and drinking, wooing and wedding, having their fun, bearing their sorrows, getting a night's sleep. So with the close of the civil war the Irish people in the main took a holiday from those patriotic and political concerns which had kept life keyed to terror and exaltation. In the sweet or bitter business of daily living they forgot that their country was still unfree; they tucked the Cause away in the back of the mind; they lapsed into acceptance of the *status quo*.

IRA PERSPECTIVE

But like that Fenian father of whom William Z. Foster has written, "His main interest was in independence for Ireland," there are always Irish men and women to whom the Cause, handed down through the generations, is more than daily living; and if need be, dearer than life. Such are these young men of the IRA. And to understand their actions you must see them as torch bearers of a long tradition, and then try to see how the present Irish scene looks to them.

In the first place they behold their motherland partitioned. Through the long centuries the alien invader, frankly predatory and unpretentiously brutal, had stolen the people's land and stricken the people down; but it remained for Lloyd George and Chamberlain, Churchill and Birkenhead in our own day to devise Partition and exact consent to this monstrous division of a small country, under threat of immediate ruthless war. One corner, one-fifth of Ireland, six rich and historic counties, remain tied tightly to the alien crown. They are ruled by a subsidized swarm of politicians and militarized police. The essential qualifications for employment in either group are treason to their native land and hatred of the religion of the majority of their fellow countrymen. The natural economy of the country is disrupted; towns are cut off from their hinterland; men are arrested for transporting a dozen eggs or a sack of potatoes across an invisible line. Within the Six Counties there is a Catholic minority, which is also Nationalist, numbering almost 40 percent of the population; as Catholics they are excluded from civil service and official employment; as Nationalists they are virtually disfranchised by the gerrymander. They are harried by the police and by mobs incited by Cabinet ministers. Their industries decay, their workers starve in unemployment; but if they meet to protest, they are batoned and jailed. Hundreds of Irish men and women languish today in England's Northern Ireland jails, for the crime of being Irish; for such terrible offenses as that for which a number of young girls were arrested last year—wearing lilies at Easter!

Is it strange that Irishmen resent these things? Is it strange that ardent young patriots have organized to redress these conditions? When moreover these ardent youths contemplate the fact that the four-fifths of their country now called Eire must still acknowledge the British crown and accept partnership in the empire whose enslaving rule has girdled the world in blood; and when they observe that the propertied classes and their weasel-worded politicians have forgotten the republic, and that the masses seem to be forgetting—is it any wonder that they have determined to strike again "for Ireland's right"?

THE ANCIENT PATTERN

They repeat the pattern of Irish rebellion, the pattern of 1798 and 1916: strike when England is in difficulties, strike to carry fear to the enemy and to awaken the Irish masses from creeping lassitude. And they imitate the Fenian example by striking on enemy soil.

Editors' Note

TAKING issue with some of the assumptions in this article, NEW MASSES wishes to reemphasize its long, warm friendship and high regard for the author. But we cannot share Shaemas O'Sheel's tolerance of the individual violence inherent in the present activities of the Irish Republican Army. Such tactics must not be explained by lack of funds, nor justified by the strategy of operating on the enemy's soil. They always spring from deeper faults: the lack of systematic contact with the bread-and-butter problems of the Irish people. In Lenin's opinion, the Easter Week 1916 rebellion was exactly the opposite of a "putsch," because *it integrated the social and national elements* of Ireland's historic battle. James Connolly's leadership Easter Week could not have been so generally acknowledged were it not for the tradition of working class action dramatized by the great transport workers' strike of 1913.

Ireland's social problems cannot fully be solved until genuine national independence has liberated her political life from toadies and traitors; but national independence without a genuine social basis degenerates into individual acts of violence which eventually frustrate the noblest hopes, and waste the deepest passions. The movement of Irish masses for unification and genuine national liberty will grow, we are convinced, and reach toward victory. The IRA may emblazon dramatic chapters in that struggle. But complete and permanent victory is possible only if the full lessons of Ireland's past are learned in a fundamental way. Shaemas O'Sheel would probably agree with that last sentence. But if so, he cannot condone those faults of the IRA's theory and tactics which only lead a one way course down a dead end street.

But from one tradition they have departed: though Irish history sanctions alliance with any enemy of England, from the Spanish and French monarchies in their most despotic days to the German imperial government of 1916, the IRA, by all available evidence, has sought no help from Hitler.

To the Irish Nationalist, it is axiomatic that a perpetual state of war exists between Ireland and Britain, and will so exist until the British government clears out of Ireland; therefore any act of war is legitimate at any time. So once more a militant minority constitute themselves custodians of an immortal Cause. Their sanction is the self-given sanction which is all that any revolutionary group has to start with. But all Irish history tells them that if they grapple with the ancient enemy and if they accept unflinchingly the jail or the death in battle or on the gallows which will be the fate of some of them, their people will rise to the old call, and the national front once more will take form.

There is today, however, one circumstance in which the situation differs radically from that faced by any previous Irish revolutionary movement. The present government of Eire, led though it be by one the IRA calls a traitor, composed though it be of small politicians and opportunists, is an Irish government freely elected. Revolt against that government means civil war; and that, on all grounds, is to be avoided if possible. This circumstance, then, also points them toward a campaign not in Ireland, but in England. If thereby the English taste some of the suffering and death inherent in war, that is too bad. But the Irish have known these things long enough; and, says the IRA, the English can avoid them by forcing their government to get out of Ireland, and to give up all claim to rule Ireland or any part of it—which it could do in forty-eight hours.

But putting bombs in mailboxes and baggage rooms, in washrooms and shop windows —aren't these pretty small tactics? Beyond denial, yes. Some of these bombs, it is the best opinion, have been planted in fact by Scotland Yard. But let us concede that most of them were placed by the IRA. What can be the object? It is clear and it is avowed: to create a demand among Britons that their government shall let these troublesome Irish go, thus putting an end to these outrages. Are the means taken effective to that end? So far, and on any such scale, no. Why then does the IRA persist in these futilities? The answer is simply that they lack the means to do more. If they had the means, it seems certain that they would conduct operations of indisputably military character against British military objectives. But why haven't they greater means? Doesn't that indicate lack of mass support? For one thing, the Irish nationalist movement is disastrously weakened by the continuance of those divisions caused by Eamon De Valera twenty years ago. And when was any revolutionary movement well financed? The members of the IRA and their American affiliates are 99 percent workers—

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employed and unemployed—men of the smallest means.

But if this is a fight carried on and financed by workers, has it then no aspect of economic and social revolution? The only possible answer today is yes-and-no. There has been published in the Irish press a purported program of the IRA envisioning a socialistic state: all land to the people, all means of production publicly owned. The authenticity of this declaration is not clearly established. My contacts compel me to suppose that some few of these IRA men grasp the concept of the class struggle clearly; more, dimly; and many not at all. Some have sharply resented the efforts of Peadar O'Donnell and others to link the national struggle with the class conflict. A responsible leader of the IRA and the American auxiliary organization said to me lately, "These men will not fight for economics. They will fight only for Irish independence."

CLASS STRUGGLE

Yet readiness for the class struggle must lie at all times close beneath the surface among small farmers, landless farm laborers, and sweated, tenement-herded workers. James Connolly demonstrated that the passion of the workers for a better life has been the underlying strength of every Irish insurrection. There is at the moment no Connolly, no Citizens Army, yet the national struggle certainly has its roots among the proletariat. One thing, however, stands as a towering obstacle to conscious proletarian action in Ireland: the still unsatisfied passion for simple national independence. "Old Ireland must be free, from the center to the sea!" Only when that has been brought about, will the passion and intelligence of the Irish workers be brought to bear on the struggle which knows no national boundaries. Only then will they perceive how little freedom simple freedom brings. An independent Ireland tied to the Pound Sterling, they would soon learn, would not be free. An Ireland divorced from the Pound Sterling but still tied to the British market would not be free. An Ireland independent of the British market, but still a tiny nation in a world of ravening competitive capitalist empires, would be no more free than the small Scandinavian, Balkan, and Central and South American countries are free today. Only in a world where the British workers are also free, where the workers of all lands are free, and not only free but rulers of the state, can Ireland be free.

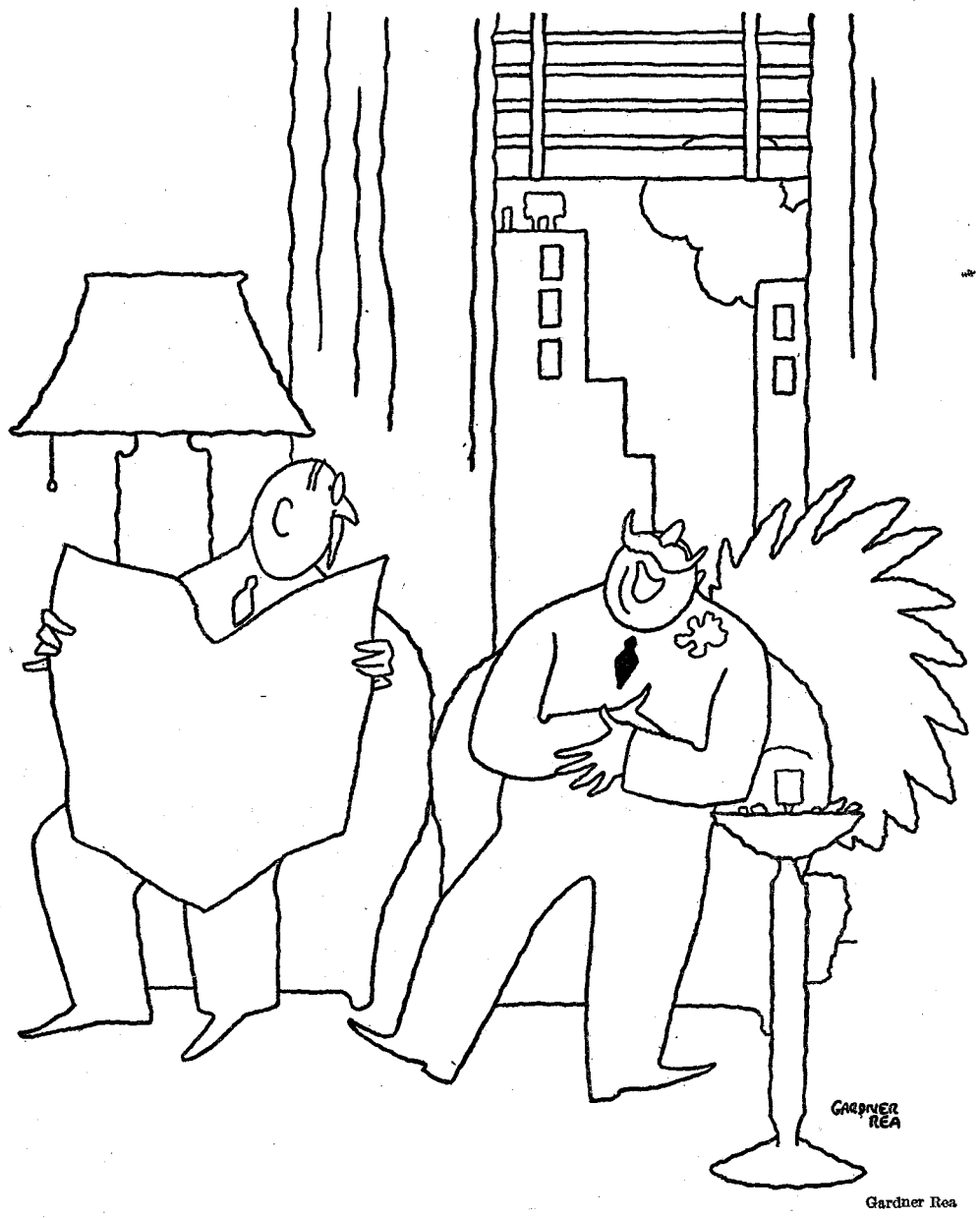
Deplore, if you will, the fact that the vision of the IRA stops short of these perceptions, looks only to simple national independence. I am here intent not on saying what should be done, but on examining what is being done and what is likely to be done by the men who consider themselves today the heirs of an unfinished war, the militant sons of a motherland still in bondage. My information is that the IRA numbers some thousands of men, moderately well organized and disciplined; and that they will be heard from further. Now that the Irish bishops and the Vatican are trying to frighten them, pronouncing membership in the IRA sinful, we may expect a toughening of their will and an increase in their numbers. Good Catholics all, like the Fenians before them, they will show that their revolutionary passion is not to be exorcised by ecclesiastical threats. They know that what they want is right and reasonable: they want their country, undivided and independent. For that they will fight. And as they fight and suffer, they will awaken the Irish masses, for this is what the masses most passionately desire—their country, undivided and free.

LENIN'S COLONIAL THEORY

Lenin, studying specifically the Easter Rebellion in Ireland, saw clearly the catalytic importance of a nationalistic upsurge. Lenin understood that only in the course of a struggle for what the masses already value most, can a broadening of mass understanding, a new direction of mass purpose, take form.

And let those who see the British imperial government as the marplot of a purposed worldwide war remember that Karl Marx said that the deadly blow at British imperialism must be struck through Ireland.

SHAEMAS O'SHEEL.



Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

". . . Every time I think of Kermit Roosevelt!"

Biting the Hand

"IT IS my honest belief . . . that some of the ultra-rich members of the Republican Party have done great harm to our party by creating in the mind of the public the belief that we were dominated by a few rich men. I think they have done us a great deal of harm with the electorate and in getting votes on election day. They do, however, use their money freely in influencing nominations at party conventions and often to the detriment of party success."—*Rep. Hamilton Fish of New York, on the floor of the House, March 20.*

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The Myth of a Finnish Munich

Alter Brody contrasts the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty with Versailles, Munich—and Copenhagen. "The terms are the most generous a vanquished government has ever received."

THE Soviet-Finnish peace caught the typewriter generals, who had been waging the Soviet-Finnish war in the newspapers, on the gallop. Unable to stop their runaway typewriters, they were still destroying Soviet divisions in the never-never land "north of Lake Ladoga" at the very moment the Finnish delegates in Moscow were begging for peace. However, no sooner was the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty signed than the typewriter generals reversed their ribbons and galloped off in the opposite direction. "A Finnish Munich" they shrieked. Finland was another Czechoslovakia that had been compelled to sign its own death warrant at the point of a gun. In another few months immolated little Finland would be gobbled up by the Russian bear as Czechoslovakia was gobbled up by the Nazis a few months after Munich. And not only Finland but all of Scandinavia was now helpless at Russia's mercy. Poor Finland, wept the typewriter generals, poor Sweden, poor Norway! There was only one comfort. The mythical myriads of frozen Russian corpses in the never-never land "north of Lake Ladoga" which threatened Finland with pestilence in the spring, were now safely on the Soviet side of the new frontier.

The typewriter generals' account of the Soviet-Finnish war has been exposed by the Soviet-Finnish peace as a mythical epos like the fabled siege of Troy. It now remains to expose their latest literary effort the myth of a Finnish Munich. For far from being a "Munich" the terms of the Soviet-Finnish peace are the most generous a vanquished government has ever received under similar circumstances, not excluding the terms which the "democracies" that offered to come to the aid of Finland imposed on vanquished Germany at Versailles.

A COMPARISON OF TERMS

Let us for a moment accept the typewriter generals' challenge and compare the terms which a vanquished Finland received from a victorious Soviet Union with the terms which an undefeated Czechoslovakia received from Hitler and, be it not forgotten—Chamberlain and Daladier.

Czechoslovakia was forced to sign away about a third of its area and population. It lost about half of its industry and the other half was mortgaged to Germany by the cession of the coal and lignite mines on which it was based. The boundary line was purposely drawn so as to cut every important communication link in Czechoslovakia and in addition Germany won the right to build —at Czechoslovakia's expense—a military motor highway, to be policed by German troops, ten miles wide cutting the country in half. Extraterritoriality such as is enjoyed by Europeans in China was bestowed on the German-speaking minority that was left in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia was forced to surrender its only possible line of defense and the frontier was so drawn as to bring the famed Skoda works within sight of the border. Czechoslovakia was also forced to give up its alliance with France but in view of its demonstrated value this could hardly be considered a sacrifice.

These were the explicit terms of the treaty. The implicit terms were far more drastic. Actually as a result of the treaty Czechoslovakia became an economic, diplomatic, and military dependency of the Reich and the contemporary Czech government was quick to recognize it. A few days after the treaty was signed Benes and all the other important anti-Nazi political leaders not only resigned but fled abroad for their lives. In a few weeks the Communist, Socialist, and liberal parties were outlawed and a semi-authoritarian government was established at Prague consisting only of people known to be acceptable to Germany. Even the Nuremberg laws were introduced in an attempt to win Germany's favor. The Czech Army was not abolished but it became an atavism as a result of the demilitarization of the country. On March 15, 1939, when Germany decided to take formal as well as *de facto* possession of Czechoslovakia it took the Reichswehr only a few hours to occupy it.

Contrast these terms with the terms of the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty. Only 9 percent of its territory is ceded by Finland and about the same proportion of its industry. Few important Finnish industries are seriously affected by the cession and few of its vital communication links. The railroad that is to be built through central Finland gives the Soviet Union no military right of way but is expressly restricted to commercial uses. That the territory ceded is only of strategic importance to Finland in waging an offensive war against the Soviet Union but in no way impairs its ability to defend itself against attack is attested by the statements of Finnish spokesmen. On March 15 the New York *Times* printed the following dispatch from Stockholm: "Finland still has a natural defense line in the Kymi river between Viborg and Helsinki and in the cluster of lakes behind her new southeastern frontier. Here a new Mannerheim line might be built." This is exactly what the Finnish government is now doing, according to the *Times* for March 21.

Coleman

Reflections in an Old Samovar

DEFENSIVE PEACE

The purely defensive nature of the Soviet terms is further emphasized by a fact that seems to have escaped the attention of most commentators. While the treaty provides for the cession of several headlands (Rybachi and Sredni peninsulas) off Petsamo of a purely strategic value in safeguarding the USSR's Arctic outlets, the port of Petsamo and the province of Petsamo is left in Finnish hands. The port and province of Petsamo (Pechenga) which was never ethnographically or politically part of Finland as any pre-war map of the czarist grand duchy of Finland testifies, is an ancient Russian province which the USSR was forced to cede to Finland in 1920. Normally one would expect the return of this province to be one of the first demands of the Russian victors. The relinquishment of Petsamo therefore is in effect a Soviet exchange for the cession of the Karelian Isthmus.

An article in the Moscow *Teachers' Gazette,* commenting on the peace, declares: "This treaty does not infringe one iota on the sovereignty and independence of Finland. Any imperialist government would undoubtedly have utilized its overwhelming superiority of strength to impose a crippling treaty." It is only necessary to read the statements of the leaders of the present Finnish government about the treaty as flaunted in the capitalist press in order to corroborate the absolute truth of this Soviet comment. Vaino Tanner, the Finnish foreign minister, in his report on the peace said: "The Soviet Union does not intend to interfere in either our domestic or our foreign policy. . . .

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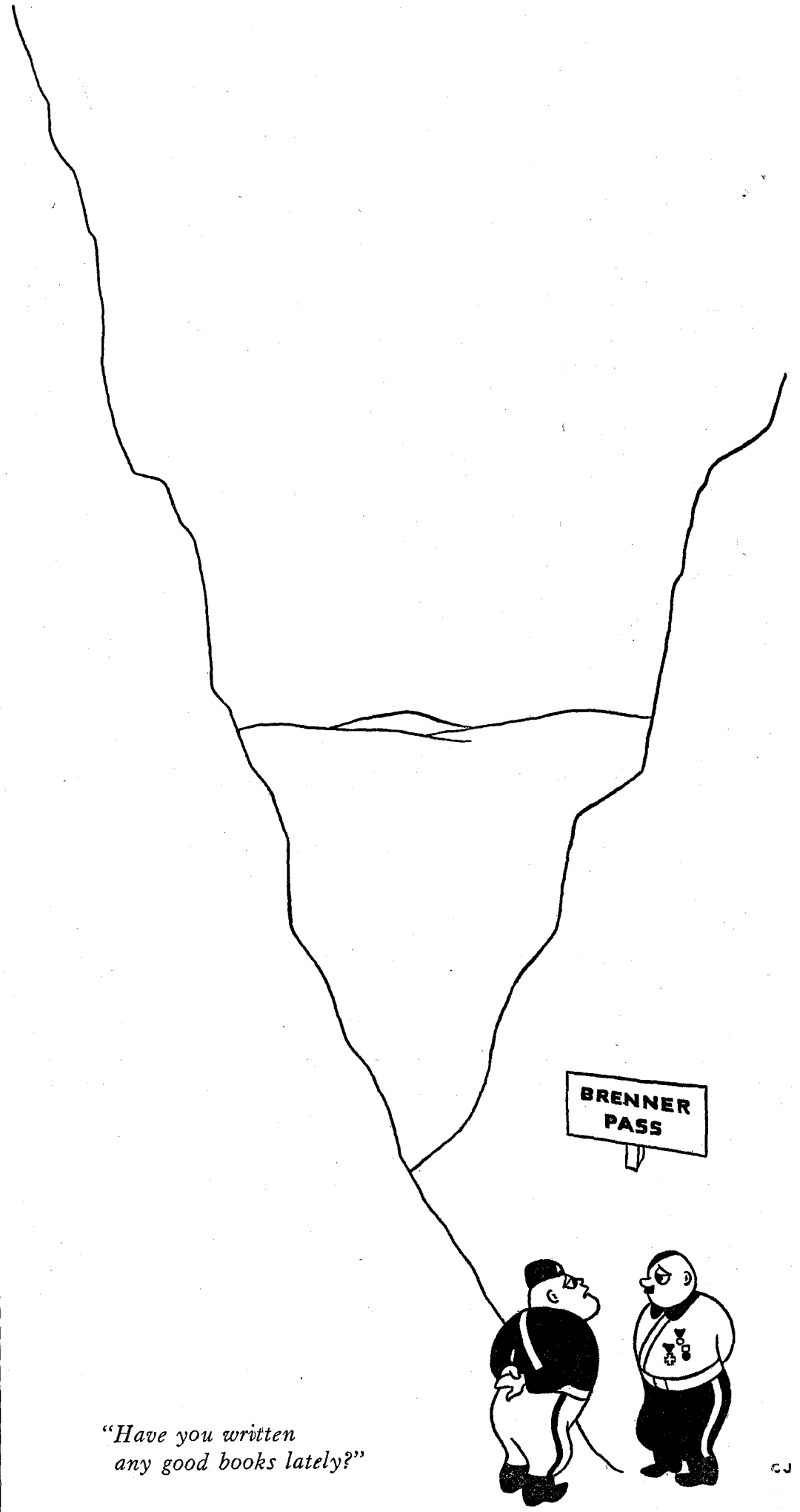
Further, the right of this country to self-determination remains inviolable." (New York *Herald Tribune,* March 14.) President Kallio and General Mannerheim did not have to flee from Soviet vengeance as President Benes fled from Nazi vengeance. There was no attempt to organize a government out of parties friendly to the Soviet Union or to outlaw political parties hostile to the victor as had been done in Czechoslovakia. On the contrary: The very day that peace was signed President Kallio was delivering jingoistic, inflammatory speeches against the Soviet Union and was agitating for a "defensive" alliance with Sweden and Norway, an alliance obviously directed against the Soviet Union, though the peace terms expressly forbid such a step. And far from General Mannerheim having to flee the country which he pushed into a disastrous war, there is talk of making him official as well as *de facto* dictator of Finland. One would hardly call this a proof of the "Russian domination" of Finland.

IMPERIALISM AT VERSAILLES

It is not necessary, however, to compare the Soviet-Finnish peace with Munich to appreciate the unparalleled generosity of its terms. The Soviet terms to a vanquished Finland shine even brighter by comparison with the terms which the erstwhile and present crusaders for "democracy" imposed on a vanquished Germany at Versailles. No German statesman was able to boast after Versailles that his country had maintained its independence and was still able "to defend itself." Nominally Germany's territorial losses at Versailles were about the same as Finland's at Moscow. Actually all of Germany was annexed and converted into an international colony of the Allies. The Polish Corridor was cut through the heart of Germany dividing it in half. Germany lost control of its own rivers and canals. Germany ceded a large part of its coal and the greater part of its iron ore, making its heavy industry dependent upon imports of French iron ore. Every man, woman, and child in Germany was mortgaged for life by a fantastic "reparations" bill which would have taken many generations to pay. German shipping was turned over to Britain, German rolling stock to France and the few milch cows that were left in Germany were turned over to Belgium so that German instead of Belgian babies would die of starvation. The western part of Germany, comprising its most important industrial area, was to be occupied by the Allied armies for a generation. Germany was forbidden to construct any fortifications on its new borders and its army was restricted to a police force of 100,000 men, forbidden any major weapons and subject to supervision and inspection by an Allied commission. And —General Mannerheim, take notice—by the famous War Criminals clause of Versailles, the military leaders who had led Germany during the war were branded as criminals to be delivered to the Allies for trial. It was not until Hitler seized power fourteen years after Versailles that the head of the German govern-



"Have you written any good books lately?"

Crockett Johnson

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ment was able to speak to the Allies as bellicosely as President Kallio was speaking the day after the Soviet-Finnish peace was signed. And it was three years more before Germany was able to fortify its new border as Finland is doing today.

GERMANY AND DENMARK

But it would be even more pertinent to compare the Soviet-Finnish treaty with the *unwritten* but faithfully observed treaty between Nazi Germany and Social Democratic Denmark. Denmark occupies the same geographically strategic position in relation to Nazi Germany that Finland does in relation to the Soviet Union. But the Nazis did not have to negotiate a mutual assistance pact with Denmark, such as the Soviet Union tried vainly to negotiate with Finland, to protect themselves against the possible use of Denmark as a base for an attack on Germany. Without any of the outcries in the Scandinavian press such as greeted Soviet efforts to achieve security in the Baltic, Nazi Germany in the very first years of its power, secured complete military and naval supervision over Danish defenses. For years Denmark, which was so vociferously outraged against Soviet "aggression" in Finland, has been to all intents and purposes a German colony. Even the Nuremberg laws are enforced in Denmark at the "request" of the German ambassador who is really the Nazi governor general of Denmark. In 1937 the Danish minister of Justice circulated all registry offices forbidding marriages with aliens if one party happened to be Jewish and the other "of pure German blood." The difference between the belligerency of Social Democratic Scandinavia toward the socialist Soviet Union and the cooperative spirit it has shown toward Nazi Germany is ironical. As soon as the Soviet-Finnish treaty was signed official talk began in Scandinavia of a "defensive alliance" among Sweden, Finland, and Norway which the whole world knew was to be aimed at the Soviet Union. But lest there be any doubt against whom the "defensive alliance" was directed, Denmark was left out of the contemplated bloc. As the Stockholm dispatch on that subject (New York *Times*, March 15) sympathetically explains: "Denmark, which is sometimes called a German province, is in a different category and she could not participate in a defensive pact involving military action."

THE SCANDINAVIAN ALLIANCE

It would be well, however, for the Scandinavian governments to remember that the generous terms which the Soviet Union granted to Finland were contributions to Scandinavian *peace*. Any new intrigues against the Soviet Union in that quarter on the pretext of organizing a Scandinavian "defense" block with the Mannerheim regime in direct violation of the clause in the treaty forbidding Finland to enter into any alliance directed against the Soviet Union will automatically nullify the terms of the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty.

ALTER BRODY.

Bombs and Naval Bases

Both Germany and Britain are weaker than they think. Sea superiority comes to Uncle Sam.

ONE of the basic Principles of War, endlessly enunciated by all staff colleges, is that any military force must have a secure base from which to carry out its missions. From this base secure lines of communication and transportation must be carried forward to the active units engaged in harrying, holding, or fighting the enemy. Once such bases and lines of communication become insecure by virtue of enemy action against them, they have to be abandoned and others more distant and secure created.

The operation of this principle has become clearer throughout the progress of the present war in Europe. It was already apparent in the actions of both loyalist and fascist forces in Spain and in the moves of the Allied and German aircraft in the first phases of the war. Recently, however, the results of the application of this rule have begun to bear their ripest fruit.

Mr. Churchill has been forced to admit that, following the successful submarine attack against the Scapa Flow naval base and the aviation attacks against both the Firth of Forth anchorages and Scapa Flow, the main body of the British fleet was withdrawn to the west coast of Scotland and has been grandly and austerely "patrolling" those waters. The fact that this fleet returned for a short period to Scapa Flow and was there badly bombed by the Germans last week, merely crosses the *t* and dots the *i*'s on the insecurity of these great bases. Incidentally, it is also indicative of the well organized espionage system that the Germans must have within Great Britain itself.

BOMBING OF SYLT

Similarly, the British aviation attacks on German naval bases at Kiel and Bremerhaven and the more recent retaliatory bombings of the air base on the island of Sylt show how little security the Germans possess. It may be possible for the German fleet to sail majestically the lower reaches of the Baltic and perhaps, within limits, even the North Sea. But one thing is clear: The Germans, as well as their antagonists, have insecure bases from which to carry on naval operations.

In this type of fighting, however, the tactical advantage is all with the Germans. Their fleet is too small to engage the British fleet but if enough British ships-of-the-line can be disabled at their bases and put on the stocks for repair, the tactical superiority of the British fleet dwindles; this superiority may even be cut sufficiently to allow the Germans some possibility of engaging a greatly reduced British High Fleet in a decisive battle. Perhaps this is the intention of the German High Command.

So far as the United States and Japan are concerned these successful activities of the German Air Force against the British Navy are only improving the proportionate naval strength of the USA and Nippon. At the outbreak of the war Great Britain and the United States had fifteen ships-of-the-line apiece and Japan had nine. The loss of the *Royal Oak* has already placed Britain in second place so far as battleship fighting strength is concerned *at this time;* it also improves the relative position of Japan. It is true that the British are building a number of battleships, but so are Japan and the United States—and it takes years to complete these monsters. Thus the United States has attained world naval superiority without fighting for it and, judging from the naval building program now under discussion at Washington, the authorities intend to hold and even increase this lead at all costs. This in itself might be the precursor of a new period for American imperialism and the numerous other straws in the wind seem to affirm this possibility.

MAJOR ALLEN JOHNSON.

Short of War?

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has decided that American aircraft companies will sell war planes in quantities—including six hundred of our latest models—and engines to Britain and France. He denies that we are also selling secret military instruments, superchargers, and bomb sights. But rumors to the contrary persist in Washington. We will learn more when the House Military Affairs begins its inquiry into sales of planes abroad. Mr. Roosevelt at a press conference openly sanctioned release of planes to foreign buyers. Plans for the inquiry were prompted by the suspicion that Secretary Morgenthau's policy as head of the "coordinating committee" to facilitate plane sales abroad was unneutral and dangerous. These suspicions have been justified by the President's statement and the sudden acquiescence of army officials.

Administration spokesmen are spilling over with explanations. Mr. Roosevelt notes that our aircraft engine production tripled last year. About a billion dollars' worth of plane buying by the Allies will so increase our aircraft production capacity that we can sell our two thousand reserve planes and test them in actual warfare. So the reasoning runs. The fact is, we are building a tremendous plane industry, dependent on Allied orders and, in time, very likely on American loans to Britain and France to fulfill these orders. This was exactly the procedure in the munitions industry which helped get us into World War I. This is what Mr. Roosevelt has called "measures short of war."

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NEW MASSES
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(Continued from page 5)

tors, injured many passersby, and arrested a number of persons. Significant is the fact that none of the members of the National Board who had shown such consideration toward the French government protested on behalf of the picketers.

The following day the Greater New York Committee of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign condemned the attitude of the National Executive Board and called upon all chapters to do likewise. It convoked a meeting in New York City March 30. On March 23 nine members of the National Board also condemned the attitude of the Reissig group, and proposed a national conference to effect a renewed program of assistance to the Spanish refugees.

The editors of NEW MASSES regret that the tactics of the National Board and Mr. Reissig have resulted in an unprecedented Red-baiting campaign in the New York press, directed against honest supporters of the Spanish people. Particularly shameful has been the role of the New York *Post,* which charges that the whole matter is the result of a Communist plot to discredit the French government. It has definitely implied that no such order as the Menard circular could have been received by the Campaign because of the French censorship, and has attempted to bolster this charge by asserting that officials of the Campaign could not produce the original letter from the Coordinating Committee. (The *Post* behaved as though everything in France had been completely satisfactory for the refugees and that the Menard circular was the first intimation that anything was even slightly wrong.) However, unfortunately for the *Post,* such a letter is at hand from the Coordinating Committee. It was received by airmail clipper, at the Washington offices of the Campaign. Photostats have been made available and the *Post* has already received one.

It is painfully clear that the Reissig group is more concerned with whitewashing the French government than in summoning all Americans to the immediate aid of the refugees. The issue is not the authenticity of the Menard order—although proofs abound of its existence—but of increasing help to the loyalists and of transporting as many of them as possible to America, and as soon as possible. One must look to leadership from the Greater New York Committee and to the other chapters, organizations, and individuals who are more concerned with the Spanish refugee than with *Hochpolitik.* It is clear, too, that the criminal injection of the Red issue, so eagerly snatched up by Mr. Backer's *Post,* can only work to the detriment of the loyalists. The March 30 conference has the best wishes of all democrats for its success in working out a program representing the wishes of millions who labored on behalf of republican Spain.

Small Aid for Farmers

THERE was a domestic headline scare last week, all because the Senate had voted an additional $300,000,000 (including $212,000,000 for farm parity payments and $85,000,000 for surplus commodity distribution) to the Farm Appropriations Bill passed by the House. The truth is that no one, except possibly the farmers themselves, need be alarmed by the Senate bill. The facts are sober enough:

1. Roosevelt's recommendation was for a $400,000,000 cut in the farm budget; the Senate's direct appropriation of $923,000,000 is still more than $100,000,000 below current appropriations.

2. Funds for the two items that turned the measure into a "billion dollar farm bill" are to come from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation: $40,000,000 for rural electrification and $50,000,000 to help tenants buy farms. Time has proved that rural electrification loans are no risk whatever. As for the aid to tenants, no one can honestly dispute its necessity in agricultural and general welfare.

3. The $85,000,000 appropriation for surplus commodity distribution includes a 20 percent expansion of the food-stamp plan—a meager enlargement of a meager program, but some help in national relief.

4. When Roosevelt made his budget estimates in January, he counted on the European war to raise farm exports and prices: an irresponsible and, as it turns out, extremely bad gamble.

5. Farm purchasing power, essential to industrial prosperity, is dropping steadily; evictions and foreclosures are increasing.

6. Even a billion dollar farm bill is a billion less than the proposed appropriation for the army and navy.

7. The bill does nothing toward relief of migratory workers, a moratorium on debts and taxes, prohibition of foreclosures and evictions, and other measures for tackling the farm problem.

As for that sweet word "parity": First, the $212,000,000 appropriation admittedly will achieve no more than 75 percent parity—about 70 percent, according to Senator Lee of Oklahoma. And how much does the *farmer* get out of farm benefit payments? In 1937, according to recent figures, 3,750,000 farmers got an average of $75 apiece. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. received the largest amount, $257,095; highest payments went to life insurance companies and banks, which have become "farmers" by grace of mortgage foreclosures. Metropolitan's vice president Ecker told the Monopoly Committee that his company had paid no federal taxes on its income "in recent years" (although it took in two billions more than it paid out during the last decade). Here should lie one answer to the wail against the Farm Bill, "Where will the taxes come from?" There are several others—for example, the $28,000,000,000 worth of tax-exempt bonds in this country.

Unemployment Realities

THE WPA has just issued a new pamphlet called *Facts about Unemployment.* It should be required reading for President Roosevelt. Among the facts listed are the following:

Only about one-fourth of the unemployed have jobs on WPA; another fourth are temporarily inactive so far as the labor market is concerned; the remaining one-half are active job seekers.

Flying in the face of these facts, the White House is now augmenting the job seekers for whom there are no jobs by dropping 800,000 from WPA rolls by June 30 and an additional 500,000 during the summer. Counting dependents, some five million men, women, and children are being condemned to hunger. Is it any wonder that the unemployed are ablaze with protest? That is why hundreds of thousands of them took part last Saturday in National Unemployment Day demonstrations under the auspices of the Workers Alliance. They demanded an immediate deficiency appropriation for WPA and passage of the Marcantonio American Standards and Unemployment Assistance Bill. The bill has been endorsed by Mayor LaGuardia of New York.

A new *Fortune* survey shows that the American people believe more money should be spent on reducing poverty and unemployment than on increasing armaments. This sentiment is being ignored by the Roosevelt administration. The whole nation has a stake in what happens to the unemployed. The Nazis guns-instead-of butter dictum has already been adopted in England and France. That must not be allowed to happen here.

Recall Cromwell

JAMES H. R. CROMWELL is reported to be resting comfortably after the resounding slap on the wrist administered to him by Secretary of State Hull. Whatever the niceties of diplomatic etiquette Minister Cromwell violated by his raucous pro-Allies speech at Toronto, the millionaire playboy knows that his address crossed the *t*'s and dotted the *i*'s of the administration's foreign policy. Whether or not President Roosevelt saw the speech in advance and approved it, as a story in the New York *Mirror* charges, it required no great clairvoyant powers on Cromwell's part to read Mr. Roosevelt's mind. Significantly Hull's rebuke did not criticize the contents of the speech, but merely pointed out that it "contravened standing instructions to American diplomatic officers" to refrain from "public discussion of controversial policies of other governments, particularly with governments engaged in war, without the prior knowledge and permission of this government."

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But what Cromwell said was all-important. No speech made by the marquess of Lothian, British ambassador to this country, has equaled the fervor of Cromwell's defense of the Allies. There were bugles blowing and drums beating in every word. And he heaped scorn on those millions of Americans who insist that we take no side in Europe's imperialist brawl. This was a war speech if ever there was one. Cromwell should be recalled at once.

Farley in the Ring

JAMES A. FARLEY, chief engineer of the Democratic Party machine and in his spare time postmaster general of the United States, has decided that the lightning might as well strike him as anybody else. Farley's categorical statement that "my name will be presented to the Democratic national convention at Chicago, and that's that" is hardly epochal. Previously he had expressed his readiness to run, but only in the event that President Roosevelt was not a candidate. His announcen :nt that he is now strictly and exclusively on his own indicates the sharpening of factional struggle within his party.

There are no issues involved in the Farley candidacy. Never a genuine New Dealer, he, like Vice President Garner, has had the pleasure of watching Roosevelt desert the New Deal. Farley's claim to statesmanship is his skill at distributing patronage plums in the proper places. He is a finished product of those smoke-filled rooms whose visitors are sometimes referred to as *vox populi*.

Both Farley and Garner now have to contend with the fact that Roosevelt's stock in Wall Street circles is definitely on the rise. Wrote Jay Franklin in a recent Washington column:

> Advocates of the reelection of President Roosevelt in 1940—notwithstanding the third term tradition—are convinced that their solidest support will come from the very business groups which are most critical of the New Deal.

As far as the people are concerned, however, Roosevelt, Garner, and Farley on the one hand and Dewey, Vandenberg, and Taft on the other are, politically speaking, three of one and a quarter of a dozen of the other. There are maturing signs that organized labor and other sections of the people are beginning to awaken to this fact. The situation urgently calls for something really different. For instance, a third party.

The Specter of Peace

SUMNER WELLES, Mr. Roosevelt's strong, silent boy, is on his way home. The American people have been asked to believe that the State Department's shrewdest diplomatic poker player traveled to four major European capitals just to gather facts and pose for pictures. The Welles trip was anything but a peace mission. That is why he omitted the only capital where the government has obviously tried to limit, and end, the war: Moscow.

Welles' visit to Rome was the occasion for the launching by Vatican circles of a trial balloon in the form of an alleged German peace proposal. According to Herbert L. Matthews, New York *Times* correspondent, this eleven point offer was the chief subject of discussion during the fifty minute audience Welles had with Pope Pius. Berlin has branded this peace proposal as a fabrication. Whether or not it emanated from the German foreign office, it is not a peace plan at all, but a plan for war against the Soviet Union by a four power coalition of Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. Dorothy Thompson admits it in the New York *Herald Tribune* of March 22:

> These terms represent the program of international industrialists and right wing politicians in most countries. . . . The crusade against the Soviet Union . . . is certainly in the minds of the international groups who are back of some such peace as this.

Despite its frosty reaction to the alleged "peace plan," the Roosevelt administration is actually up to its ears in the intrigues of imperialist Europe. The last thing it wants is real peace. The Republicans, playing pacifist tunes, support the essentials of White House foreign policy. Peace is inimical to profits. It might even be bad, very bad, for capitalism. This thought was voiced by Jay Franklin,

WOULD you give $3 to save the life of a very dear friend? Of course you would. You'd give the shirt off your back—and more.

Most readers feel toward NEW MASSES as they do toward a very dear friend. They need it as they need food and air. Today we got a note from a doctor in Iowa City, accompanying a $10 contribution: "Since the Finnish campaign I have appreciated NEW MASSES more and more as my only source of information on what's really happening. You are a wonderful antidote for the poisonous emanations of the press. I only wish you came out two or three times a week instead of once. As it is, I can hardly wait to receive my copy."

That is why we can turn to our readers and say as friend to friend: The life of NEW MASSES is in grave peril. It must have an immediate blood transfusion of thousands of dollars. This is not simply cold paper and type speaking. It is the ideas you passionately believe in that are threatened. It is your own fight for peace, plenty, and freedom that will suffer irreparably if NEW MASSES suspends.

Three dollars from every reader, either on coin cards or in bills, check, or money order, will save the life of NEW MASSES. We set the goal of our Bill of Rights Fund drive at $25,000 because this was the sum needed to meet our 1940 deficit. Thus far we have raised only $8,205 in eight weeks—less than one-third of what is required. We can tell our underpaid staff to wait for their wages—they have missed more than one payroll in recent weeks—but the printer, the paper man, the engraver, the landlord, etc., refuse to wait. Will you send your $3 today? Will you save the life of America's only national anti-war weekly? Fill out the coupon on page 26.

The Editors

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generally regarded as an administration spokesman, in the New York *Post,* March 19:

> The signature of a real peace [he wrote] would plunge the entire world, including the US, into an unemployment crisis far greater than that which began in 1929. As a matter of fact, the armament revival and the war were consequences of the 1929 crisis, since Europe put its unemployed first into black and brown shirts and then into uniforms. If the present war ends without liquidating the young Europeans, there will be no escape from the resulting economic crisis except by a process amounting to social revolution.

"Criminal Contempt" Again

THE second "contempt of court" attack on freedom of the press has come up in the Midwest within a month. This is the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* case, in which the publishers and three members of the editorial staff (including the renowned cartoonist Daniel Fitzpatrick) are being tried for criticizing a local circuit court judge's dismissal of a case involving extortion. A no less conservative organ than *Editor and Publisher* has been moved to protest that "If the courts have the right of post-censorship of press criticism of judicial acts, criticism will become automatically contemptuous, and the free press privilege will be only a mockery."

The publishers' journal does not comment on the first case, the coming trial in Chicago of Louis Budenz, editor of the *Midwest Daily Record,* W. L. Patterson, associate editor, and Bob Wirtz, local secretary of the International Labor Defense. Here "criminal contempt of court" was cited because of the paper's disapproval of Superior Court Judge Lupe's injunction against the Newspaper Guild in its strike against Hearst's *Herald-American.* Last Saturday the CIO Coordinating Committee threw its support to the defendants when, through its attorney, it intervened as a "friend of the court." The committee is composed of representatives from every CIO organization in Chicago. In the St. Louis trial, the local Newspaper Guild and Missouri Press Association attempted to intervene but their applications were denied by the court. Judge Rowe said, "This proceeding is against certain parties. Only those parties are involved. . . ." The guild application stated, "Fundamental rights are involved, particularly the freedom of the press."

Confession

REMEMBER the two chief lies of the commercial press during the Finnish war: that the Red Army was a pushover, and the Soviets were deliberately bombing civilians? Belated, and on the whole begrudging, admissions of "error" on these two points are creeping into the same press. Leland Stowe, Helsinki correspondent for the Chicago *Daily News* and New York *Post,* has been the frankest so far. Mr. Stowe, who cabled the *Nation* on January 14 that the Finns had "stopped the Red Army dead in its tracks on the Karelian Isthmus," now radios his newspapers that "Today it is only fair to put the record straight," that "Russia's army . . . is a much better army than foreign experts have ever suspected," and that the Soviet offensive on the Karelian Isthmus baffled foreign military attaches. Both Mr. Stowe and Walter Kerr, the New York *Herald Tribune's* man in Stockholm, add that it was very difficult to get correct information from official Finnish sources. The communiques themselves were accurate, Mr. Kerr explains—"only they left out half the story—their own losses in numbers of men killed." The *Herald Tribune* correspondent admits that "it is true that the Red Air Force never tried to exterminate the civilian population of Finland."

More is involved here than crow eating. The news reports about Soviet bombing of civilians gave President Roosevelt the pretext to declare a moral embargo against the USSR. It was the wild cables about shattered Red divisions and frozen soldiers that led commentators to write off the USSR as a force in world affairs. On the basis of newspaper lies the American people were persuaded to donate money to Finland. When the whole truth finally catches up with these lies the forces that inspired them will give way as did the Mannerheim Line before the Red Army.

Inside Germany

READERS of the New York *Post* will recall that peace in Finland found William L. White, its feature writer, in a snowdrift of illusions. Upon returning to Copenhagen, Mr. White prepared ten articles reporting his visit to Germany last December. Assuming that what he tells us of Germany is more genuine than what he told us of Finland (a big assumption) his comments are important and provocative. According to White, the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact threw the German upper classes into panic. They were deeply divided by the prospect of better business on the one hand, and fear of the outcome of Hitler's somersault on the other. The Reichswehr was generally relieved at the elimination of the Eastern Front; the small tradesman was generally confused; the Nazi Party member completely befuddled. The German worker took the pact with something of triumph. According to White, the workers feel that "when that — — — — loses this war he has got into, then the Russians will come and help them! They're all for the 'alliance'!" In the working-class beer halls he visited, White found only a perfunctory regard for Hitler—the minimum prescribed by law. The clenched fist salute was common; White's guide assured him that the workers they met were "Communists, only more so now, after six years of Hitler."

Wang Humbug

JUST in time for the Easter season, Japan is trotting out the Wang Ching-wei government in all its finery. No thousands cheer in China, and in Tokyo the ministers keep their fingers crossed. Wang has adopted the Kuomintang banner as his own; with an eye to the flash-bulbs, he wept over China's plight last week at Sun Yat-sen's tomb. But such insults to China's great tradition and her great fight for independence win him only further contempt. For the invaders, the puppet government is a diplomatic venture; in its creation they see a bargaining weapon with the Western powers and Chiang Kai-shek. But it is difficult to imagine any nation recognizing this humbug; the whole business is a Gilbert and Sullivan situation except for its tragic implications.

In Nippon, ersatz commodities are arousing resentment; power shortages in the factories are common; goods are scarcer, prices have jumped about 40 percent, and the national budget is a balloon of which the budgeteers have lost control. In the last year alone, Japanese police report 200,000 violations of the regulations against trading on the "Black Bourse." On the other hand, disease and suffering continue in embattled China. The American Committee for Medical Aid to China makes public an appeal for $150,000 to purchase drugs and goods that have been destroyed in Japan's bombardments of the Haiphong-Kunming railway. And instead of employing the threat of embargo as a diplomatic sword of Damocles for its own ulterior motives, the State Department should apply the embargo to Japan immediately, and bring the war to the only logical conclusion—a victory for China.

Mexican Communists

THE Communist Party of Mexico has just adjourned its extraordinary congress which promises to be a milestone in its history. Last fall, it would seem, several party officials—Guerra, Lobato, and Ramirez—were discovered to be allied with corrupt provincial administrators and tied into Trotskyist cabals. The membership forced their expulsion. Hernan Laborde, party general secretary, and his co-worker, Valentin Campa, were given the mandate to convene an extraordinary congress for a decisive change in the party's work. Whereupon, Laborde and Campa were themselves found to be sabotaging the party's progress, and were accused of bureaucratic practices. An aroused membership made a sweep of the old officials: eighteen new members were chosen for the central committee of twenty-five, and a young foundry worker, Dionisio Encina, selected as general secretary.

Mexican politics reaches a climax this coming July with the election of a president to succeed Lazaro Cardenas. Evidence accumulates that reactionary elements supporting the candidacy of General Almazan are plotting rebellion shortly before, or after, July. Economic troubles have been aggravated with the outbreak of war in Europe. Most threatening of all is the change of spirit in Washington; the transformation of the Good Neighbor policy has many Mexicans anxious. All the more significant, therefore, and timely is the revitalization of the Communist forces which the extraordinary congress seems to have assured.

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THE petition to the President, printed below, was initiated by the following committee: Elliot Paul, chairman, Franz Boas, Theodore Dreiser, Rockwell Kent, Corliss Lamont, George Seldes, Maxwell S. Stewart, and Dashiell Hammett. As we go to press more signatures are arriving in the mail and will be published later.

To President Franklin D. Roosevelt: In periods of crisis, those civil liberties which are the foundation stone of a free society, are endangered. Today, in the face of international crisis, it behooves us, as loyal Americans, to examine critically, and expose to the light all threats against democracy at home.

Eternal vigilance is the price of democracy, and we must critically analyze any governmental attack on the rights of Americans to maintain dissident opinions which inevitably results in the destruction of civil rights for all.

The recent raid, without warrant, on the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the abortive indictments in Detroit for recruiting for loyalist Spain, the badgering of Communist leaders, the attacks by the Dies committee on consumer and labor groups, are all part of the rapidly accumulating evidence of a tendency to pervert the spirit while pretending to adhere to the letter of the Bill of Rights.

This same tendency exists in the perversion of the function of the Special Grand Jury now convened in Washington, D. C., to investigate alleged military espionage. This investigation was initiated by the former attorney general, by the widespread publication of an extraordinary letter accusing a number of organizations and individuals of serious crimes. This unprecedented procedure was sharply condemned by the Washington *Post* as a breach of the constitutional rights of citizens. The subsequent public announcement by the special prosecutors that such investigation "would be used as a clearing house," inevitably created a suspicion that even an inquiry might be perverted into a witch-hunt directed against those whose views express differences with the government.

The NEW MASSES is not mentioned in the letter of the attorney general, but this has not prevented the Grand Jury from devoting much of its time to questioning editors and employees of NEW MASSES. Day after day, testimony is taken having no possible relation to the crimes under investigation, but intended to uncover the witnesses' views on current social and political problems. In this respect, it is really a "Dies committee" in another form. The continuance of this procedure might drive NEW MASSES out of existence by frightening its readers and supporters, by harassing its editors, and by exhausting the meager funds of the magazine. It is in fact a war of nerves which will lead to the destruction of the freedom of expression of dissident opinion.

In the World War the suppression of the *Masses,* the barring from the mails of other publications, came after the entry of this country into the war. Today the move to silence free opinion is terrifyingly faster. It is a portent of war and a portent of wider suppression. Many of those who petition you, Mr. President, do not agree with the social and political views of NEW MASSES, but we recognize that the rights guaranteed in the Constitution cannot be denied to any group without undermining these rights themselves, and thereby making them insecure for all.

In your recent message to the *Nation* on its seventy-fifth anniversary, Mr. President, you said: "It does not matter whether one agrees with the *Nation* or not. The important thing is that everywhere and always—particularly in a democracy—minorities shall have a means of expressing themselves." That, Mr. President, is a genuine affirmation of the elementary human and civil rights of all Americans and we urgently call upon you to apply it—"everywhere and always."

We respectfully request you, Mr. President, to exert your influence to end this attack on freedom of the press and prevent its repetition in the future.

(Signed) GORDON W. ALLPORT, professor of psychology, Harvard University; FRANK E. BAKER, president, State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wis.; JOSEPH WARREN BEACH, chairman, English department, University of Minnesota; DR. GEORGE H. BISHOP, professor, Washington University, St. Louis; MARC BLITZSTEIN, composer-playwright, New York; FRANZ BOAS, professor of anthropology, Columbia University; LOUIS B. BOUDIN, attorney, New York; LYMAN R. BRADLEY, assistant professor of German, New York University; MILLEN BRAND, writer, Barto, Pa.; HAROLD CHAPMAN BROWN, professor, Stanford University; EDWIN BERRY BURGUM, professor, New York University; LESTER COHEN, writer, Doylestown, Pa.; BRUCE CRAWFORD, editor and writer, Charleston, W. Va.

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WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, clergyman, New York; ROBERT JOSEPHY, book designer, Bethel, Conn.; VAN DUSEN KENNEDY, instructor in economics, Swarthmore College; ROCKWELL KENT, artist, New York; DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY, social worker, Shady, N. Y.; ARTHUR KOBER, writer, New York; CORLISS LAMONT, author, New York; RING W. LARDNER, JR., writer, Hollywood; PAUL H. LAVIETES, assistant professor of medicine, Yale University; M. LEVI, professor emeritus, University of Michigan; PHILIP LOEB, actor, New York; J. B. LOVE, NYA administrator, Butte, Mont.; ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, governor, Virgin Islands; WILLIAM M. MALISOFF, professor of biochemistry, Polytechnic Institute, New York; ALBERT MALTZ, author and teacher, New York University; KIRTLEY F. MATHER, professor of geology, Harvard University; EDWARD G. MAXTED, priest of the Episcopal Church, Pascagoula, Miss.; H. L. MENCKEN, writer, Baltimore, Md.; CATHARINE MEYER, teacher, Vassar College; PAUL MUESCHKE, associate professor of English, University of Michigan; WILLIAM S. NOBLE, minister, North Baltimore, O.; KATHERINE MACY NOYES, Urbana, Ill.; WILLIAM ALBERT NOYES, Noyes Laboratory of Chemistry, University of Illinois.

HARVEY O'CONNOR, writer, Chicago; SHAEMAS O'SHEEL, writer, Red Hook, Dutchess County, N. Y.; SAM ORNITZ, writer, Los Angeles; ELLIOT PAUL, writer, New York; WILLIAM PICKENS, director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; ALAN PORTER, teacher, Vassar College; ISRAEL PUTNAM, president of I. Putnam, Inc., Elmira, N. Y.; WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH, professor of industrial engineering, Columbia University; GARDNER REA, artist, Brookhaven, N. Y.; ANTON REFREGIER, mural painter, New York; PAUL ROBESON, singer, New York; EARL ROBINSON, composer and choral director, New York; WELLINGTON ROE, writer, Staten Island, N. Y.; HARRY SACHER, lawyer, New York; MARGARET SCHLAUCH, teacher, New York University; EDWIN SEAVER, author, New York; GEORGE SELDES, writer, Wilton, Conn.; HELEN SELDES, Wilton, Conn.; HOWARD SELSAM, professor, Brooklyn College; HARLOW SHAPLEY, professor of astronomy, Harvard University; GEORGE H. SHULL, professor, Princeton University; HERMAN SHUMLIN, stage director and producer, New York; REV. F. HASTINGS SMYTH, superior, Society of the Catholic Commonwealth, Oratory of St. Mary and St. Michael, Cambridge, Mass.; ALICE D. SNYDER, professor of English, Vassar College; MOSES SOYER, artist, New York; RAPHAEL SOYER, artist, New York; GEORGE SOULE, editor, *New Republic;* PHILIP STEVENSON, writer, New York; DONALD OGDEN STEWART, writer, Carmel, Calif.; MAXWELL S. STEWART, associate editor, the *Nation;* I. F. STONE, associate editor, the *Nation;* HANS OTTO STORM, engineer, Palo Alto, Calif.; PAUL STRAND, photographer, New York; DIRK J. STRUIK, associate professor of mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

HELEN TAMIRIS, dancer, New York; C. FAYETTE TAYLOR, professor of engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; FREDERICK THOMPSON, manufacturer, San Francisco; EDWARD C. TOLMAN, professor of psychology, University of California; JEAN STARR UNTERMEYER, writer, New York; HAROLD C. UREY, professor of chemistry, Columbia University; STUYVESANT VAN VEEN, mural artist and anthropologist, New York; CHARLES H. WESLEY, professor of history, Howard University; JAMES WECHSLER, assistant editor, the *Nation;* HOWARD W. WILLARD, illustrator-designer, New York; SUSAN H. WOODRUFF, lecturer, member DAR, New York; RICHARD WRIGHT, writer, Crompond, N. Y.; ART YOUNG, artist, Bethel, Conn.; LEANE ZUGSMITH, writer, New York.

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The State of the Nation

THIS DEPARTMENT, which NEW MASSES presents weekly, is the joint work of a group of correspondents who send us a letter each week telling about the state of their part of the nation. As more correspondents write in, our coverage will increase. We invite our readers to send their contributions of significant happenings, anecdotes, etc., to "The State of the Nation," NEW MASSES.

Hatters' Shakes

DANBURY, CONN.—In this "best of all possible states" (see the New York *Times),* large insurance companies continue to hamstring hat workers whose insides are poisoned by the mercurial fumes of hat shops. Danbury Hat Union officials charge that insurance companies blacklist workers who have contracted "hatters' shakes." As a result, workers fear to ask for compensation, knowing that this will prevent them from obtaining future employment.

Democracy? "Absurd"

MIAMI, FLA.—"The republic which was established by the founding fathers has slowly degenerated into a democracy," Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, head of Oglethorpe University in Atlanta, Ga., told the Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce at its monthly dinner. "A democracy with a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people is as absurd as medicine or dentistry or engineering of, by, and for all the people. I call for a return to the republic which is a government by the best, the upper half. . . . First, we must eliminate from the franchise all those who are the beneficiaries of city, state, and federal appropriations. . . ." Dr. Jacobs said that civilization must be defended against "a combination of predatory poverty and predatory politicians."

Mayor Ev ("No smokestack in Miami") Sewell, as head of the city government, refuses to permit any industry to come and sully the town's fair atmosphere. Result: starvation for the unemployed in the offing this summer.

Hoover Talks to His Friends

PITTSBURGH, PA.—Herbert Hoover boasted to members of the swank Duquesne Club, who gave a dinner in his honor, that during the early days of the Finnish war he was in constant touch by telephone with Premier Risto Ryti, who had accepted his suggestion to appoint a special committee of "the strongest men and women" to take over civil jurisdiction in Finland.

Socialized Law

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—"As socialized medicine gives the poor man the benefits of a cooperative group of physicians, so socialized counsel will attempt to do likewise in matters of law." With this statement, three Los Angeles attorneys announced the formation of a legal Advisory Bureau, to bring the benefit of legal advice to poor people. This "legal clinic" will be conducted by a group of young attorneys, acting as "legal interns." Their bureau, headed by Arnold Krieger, George P. Cook, and Paul Pearlin, has offices in the Garland Building. Krieger explained that the project is "not to take away business from the independent barristers but instead to open up a hitherto neglected field of practice among those who otherwise would not consult an attorney because they feel they cannot afford it. It is merely taking necessary legal advice in business and civil matters out of the luxury class and making it available to the masses."

John Brown Tradition

BRISTOL, CONN.—This community is just a short run from Torrington, John Brown's birthplace; and what happened here recently might have made that fighter for freedom happy. The Board of Education had flatly refused permission for the United Auto Workers local to use a school hall for a meeting—and the auto workers wouldn't take No. They started a protest campaign, lining up other union members, liberals, civil rights supporters, then staged a demonstration at a hectic meeting of the Board of Education. Board members, who had been appalled at the CIO union's request for permission to use the hall, got the idea that the consequences of a refusal might be even worse, and gave in.

Protest in Jersey

EAST ORANGE, N. J.—The plain Bourbons and insurance barons who inhabit this Jersey suburb had a bad time of it recently when the howls of the vulgar riffraff, several thousand strong, were heard outside their apartment windows. Finally a few courageous knaves dared to stick their heads out to see what it was all about. They were relieved momentarily to find *der Tag* hadn't really arrived. But it didn't help much to know the local high school students had gone on a spontaneous strike in protest against the dismissal of a favorite basketball coach. The school board had fired him in order to avoid granting him tenure and a pay increase. The students went back the next day but the incident has set up a great moaning and gnashing of teeth.

Academic Truth

SEATTLE, WASH.—Charles Henry Fisher was recently fired by Gov. Clarence D. Martin because "he couldn't get along with a certain group in Bellingham," where Fisher was president of the Western Washington College of Education, one of the leading teacher-training colleges in America. The "certain group" was the Ku Klux Klan, Silver Shirts, the Christian Front, and Associated Farmers. Fisher, a liberal in education, kept his students well informed on more than one side of current social and economic problems by bringing progressive speakers to the college campus. The group which succeeded in ousting him was the same one that operated in a similar fashion in Aberdeen, preceding the murder of Laura Law, wife of Dick Law, militant CIO organizer for the woodworkers. Both the Fisher and Law cases are lively issues in Washington and may send Governor Martin to his political grave.

All at Sea

WASHINGTON, D. C.—G. A. Gainard, labor-baiting captain of the *City of Flint,* was guest speaker on the same program with Frank J. Wilson, chief of the US Secret Service, at a Board of Trade meeting. The audience, reports the Washington *Star,* "roared with applause as Captain Gainard condemned the Soviet government and warmly praised the conduct of the Germans who took over the ship. The Norwegian minister to Washington was one of the honor guests at the meeting. Secret Service Chief Wilson gave a talk on how to recognize counterfeit money, and Harry Blackstone, magician, amused the crowd by taking Mr. Wilson's watch away from him without his knowing it.

Quick on the Draw

DETROIT, MICH.—Those Detroit police always get their man. Latest to find this out was William Hook, twenty-one-year-old steel worker. Young Hook was engaged to be married, was returning from a party in celebration of the engagement, when he turned left against a red light. Police ran him down and shot him through the head. He died within twenty-four hours.

Dies in Miniature

OAKLAND, CALIF.—The Yorty "little Dies committee" recently held their current investigation into "subversive influences" in the state Relief Administration at the Hotel Oakland in a room reserved for traveling salesmen to display their wares. It developed that a number of other salesmen on the same floor were perturbed over the fact that Yorty's display of Red-baiting merchandise brought the wrong kind of customers. Workers Alliance members in their simple and faded clothing clashed sharply with the modern decorations of the hotel. "Can You Eat on 16 cents a Day—Yorty Says So!" did not add to the appetites of the customers in the sedate dining room as pickets carried their signs upstairs to the display rooms. Neither did: "Yorty Witch Hunts while the People Starve!"

A unionist attending the hearings told us, "There are almost as many stoolpigeons here as witnesses." He pointed out a host of hangers-on from various factions within the Democratic and Republican political machines.

"These people get in," said the unionist, "but honest workers and the unemployed have to wait outside."

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Readers' Forum

Canal Zone

TO NEW MASSES: While traveling on the Panama Canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific, I discovered some curious facts about the Canal authorities' employment policy.

In the first place I found that practically all the workers are Jamaican Negroes. A guarded conversation with an old man who seemed ready for the grave revealed that he was born in Jamaica of parents who had been brought over from Africa as slaves. When I asked him why he didn't retire under the Social Security Act, he said that the act did not apply to Canal Zone employees. In order to retire on a pension, the employee must be pronounced unfit for work by a government physician.

I asked another worker his opinion of unionism and the CIO. He answered, talking from the corner of his mouth and looking away from me, that he knew unionism was a good thing and the CIO was fine because it seemed to fight earnestly for the working people. He said that the CIO had tried to organize here but the authorities had discouraged it by firing men who seemed to favor industrial unionism. To my question about housing he replied that the government quarters were pretty comfortable if you were lucky enough to obtain them. The town of Panama City—not United States territory—in an effort to enrich its treasury, had appealed to the United States government for help. This was given—by denying living quarters in the Canal Zone to some of the Canal workers, forcing them to seek such quarters in Panama City or other parts of the "independent" country of Panama.

No one had to tell me about the living conditions in Cristobal, Colon, Panama, or Balboa, for I have too often witnessed the squalid state of the shacks where the people "live." Of course these conditions are not suffered by the "whites" who are employed as pilots, engineers, clerks, overseers, and general flunkies. The top flighters of the latter group enjoy their golf courses, afternoon cocktail parties, bridge parties, etc.

Some of the "whites" are organized into the AFL, but if the point of view of the pilot with whom I talked is indicative of the AFL group here, the summation would run about as follows: Union members should not strike; they should make their "modest" gains by simply asking the employer for them. Harry Bridges should not be allowed to lead his membership toward higher wages and better conditions because he was born in Australia; he should be deported. John L. Lewis is a dangerous fellow because he strives to obtain a voice for labor in politics. The CIO is just "naturally" un-American. The pilot stated that if he had his way he would turn machine guns on people who criticized our economic system. Of course these are not the views of the AFL rank and file.

One of the local newspapers carried a story regarding the "alleged" impending importation of two or three thousand Negro laborers from the British possession of Jamaica, lying some five hundred miles to the north. The Canal workers knew that these British subjects were coming down to work; they based their knowledge on the simple fact that laborers were needed to make the extensive repairs on the Canal, and that when workers are needed, the authorities get them from Jamaica.

There is another island just north of the Canal—Puerto Rico. Thousands of American citizens live there in abject poverty. I have been in the "homes" of the people in Guanica, Aquadilla, Ponce, San Juan, Jobos, and other places. The great majority of them are little better off than the coolies of Singapore and Manila. Why aren't the unemployed of Puerto Rico given a chance to fill the jobs at the Canal instead of introducing more Jamaicans there?

The Jamaicans have my sympathy. Here too I have seen the miserable conditions under which these people slave for the idle rich of London and Manchester. I would like to see them working under good conditions, but if John Bull can shoulder the grave responsibility of declaring war and its resultant cost, then John Bull should be made to realize that the people of Jamaica want jobs and security.

FREDERICK SHORES.

New York.

Defense of Fairyland

TO NEW MASSES: . . . I want to write to you about Jim Dugan's review of *Pinocchio* before I see it. It has to do with the fuzziness of the reviewer's first paragraph which carefully names Disney's latest formal innovations "evidence of the airbrush . . . marvelous new plane camera . . . animators and in-betweeners and camera techniques improve with prodigality, and this is mistaken for increase in quality." Well, what would you call the successful formal outcome of an artist's experiments if you didn't want to mistake it for increase in quality? End of first paragraph: "But what the hell goes on here? Fairytales." And who are we to cavil at the artist's rejection of realism—especially when it is generally admitted that these little flat images cut or drawn to human and animal shapes have been one of the really liberating forces in the all-too-realistic film. "From now on I'm against fairytales. Only Honest John, the confidence man, has an element of satire." If it were all satirical then Disney would have you on his side?

And is satire the only justifiable agent of destruction? One of the most devastating things I ever saw on the screen was a gentle little Disney short about—of all things—Hiawatha. It's just Hiawatha, the predatory setting out on the hunt against all that lives. But all that lives is not only holy, as the Joads' preacher informed them, but will fight for that right to live, though it means a fade-out to slow music on a chastened Hiawatha climbing empty-handed back into his canoe.

We'll fight for our right to fantasy and farce, allegory and the non-representational. . . .

A week in Connecticut ought to fix Dugan up if he takes along a couple of primers on esthetics, or, better, Edwin Berry Burgum.

ELSA WALDMANN.

San Francisco, Calif.

[MR. DUGAN REPLIES]

I refuse to quarrel over *Pinocchio* with someone who hasn't seen the picture. If Walt Disney perfects a method of making the good fairy come down in the orchestra pit and sit in my lap I'll still question what the picture has to say. If my critic will forward the necessary tolls I'll go to Connecticut immediately with Lessing, Engels, and John Howard Lawson. Anything to get away from fairytales.

J. D.

Praise and Otherwise

TO NEW MASSES: I am enclosing a picture of tanks and airplanes at Fort Bennington, Ga.—tuning up for war? Our war propaganda press overlooked a grand opportunity. Just think how they could have used this picture, with a caption something like this: "Part of one hundred tanks and twenty-five airplanes in a drive on the Mannerheim Line. Taken shortly before the tanks were all captured and all but one airplane was shot down by three boy scouts."

I just thought this all might interest you, coming from an American born rebel (not a liberal!).

Now for a little criticism of the radical movement or movements. For at least forty years I have been in favor of the radical workers organizing their own political party and an industrial union *and sticking to it.* But they no sooner get a good start than the professional and middle class elements come in and compromise it into a chop suey. The radical press should continually point out the hopelessness of patching up the capitalist system, which has run its course and usefulness. Marx was right in saying that the capitalists were their own gravediggers. But he never figured that the people wouldn't have the common decency to bury them after they had dug their own graves!

The workers should stick to the materialistic interpretations of history and the class struggle. I have heard Roosevelt say over the radio that he believes in profit, which of course means he believes in the profit system. So why in hell should any radical be for him? You people see now what you get for stringing along with him and his Mis-Deal.

J. P. Morgan is England's handyman and Roosevelt is Morgan's Man Friday, unless I don't read the signs of the times right. England and the pope want the USSR busted wide open for capitalist exploitation. Montagu Norman said about three years or so ago there will be no more capitalist prosperity until the Soviet Union is opened up for the capitalists. And our great peace-loving President sends Sumner Welles over to Europe to arrange peace between Germany and England. Why? Because England wants it, but can't make the necessary move herself and still save her face; so she gets her handyman to act for her, hoping that the whole capitalist world including Germany can pile on the Soviet Union.

P. K.

Chicago, Ill.

[NEW MASSES cannot agree that the cooperation of professional and middle class elements with the working class makes "chop suey" of the latter's cause. On the contrary, we favor such cooperation, and do not think that the workers, professional and middle class people can solve their problems without such cooperation. But we agree that the opportunism which middle class politicians imposed on the working class in the era of Social Democracy (trends of which are still active today) compromises and misleads the workers' cause. Nor was it a mistake to support Mr. Roosevelt in that period in which he symbolized a great movement of democratic organizations of the American people, led by labor, for the improvement of their lot. Roosevelt was merely the symbol of that coalition which achieved notable gains for the working people and the American people as a whole. Since Roosevelt now symbolizes the betrayal of that coalition, and its aims and desires, as witness his foreign and domestic program of the past several months, we agree that he can no longer be supported, in fact, must be fought.—THE EDITORS.]

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Mr. Corey Reconsiders—II

The second of A. Landy's articles concerning the case of a man who "reconsidered" Marxism. Definitions of democracy and socialism.

IN THE third and final section of his first article in the *Nation* "reconsidering" Marxism, Lewis Corey undertakes to provide us with "a clearer understanding of democracy and its relation to socialism." The only difference between this and the previous section is that whereas before we learned that socialism had no relation to democracy, now we learn that democracy has no relation to socialism.

Despite Corey's insistence that the very economic system of socialism gives rise to totalitarianism, a generous reader might still refuse to take him at his word, suspecting that, at bottom, what Corey really objects to is the superstructural dictatorship and not to socialism as such. But Corey himself removes any room for doubt. The totalitarian potential, he now declares, "drives toward suppression of democracy even without dictatorship." Indeed, it is even wrong to think that collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is economic democracy: the democracy is only potential!

And why is democracy only potential? Because, according to Corey, collective ownership means the combination of economic and political power in an all-powerful state run by a bureaucracy with a monopoly control of the sources of livelihood. Thus the basic economic structure creates a political superstructure in its own image. But, if economic and political power is in the hands of a bureaucracy, then not only is there no actual democracy for the masses, but there isn't even any potential democracy under such a system. The only way democracy can be attained is by overthrowing the bureaucracy, that is, the Soviet government. World imperialism can have no cause for disagreement with such a position.

Corey, of course, doesn't use such indiscreet language. His is a more dulcet idiom. The democratic potential, he says, can be released only if appropriate institutional arrangements are created which destroy oligarchic economic controls and make the new collective controls democratic. So, "appropriate institutional arrangements" must be created not only to replace the present Soviet government, but also to replace the present Soviet economic system.

It was therefore no accident that in the second section Corey informed us that there is socialism in the Soviet Union. For, if before he declared that the very nature of socialist economy drives to the suppression of democracy, we now see that it suppresses democracy because it gives rise to "a new bureaucratic class" which "uses economic collectivism as the basis for a new tyranny." In the ordinary man's language this means that we do not really have collective ownership in the Soviet Union, that is, ownership by all the people; what we have is ownership by a new ruling class. Hence, there is no socialism in the USSR, and the whole argument against socialism has been futile. On the other hand, since Corey cannot really deny that there is a collective economy in the Soviet Union, all he can say is that *socialist* economy tends toward totalitarianism. Hence, there *is* socialism in the Soviet Union.

FAMILIAR SOPHISTRY

After such confusion, the only thing left to do is to equate Communism and fascism, and the "theoretical" foundation of Corey's program is complete. If socialism began by expropriating capitalist property, only to end up by suppressing democracy, fascism began by suppressing democracy and now threatens to end up by expropriating capitalist property. Thus fascism is potentially not capitalism; socialism is actually not capitalism; ergo, fascism and socialism are essentially the same! This "conclusion" becomes overwhelming when we add Corey's additional "information" that collectivism ("bureaucratic state power without democratic safeguards") is really the economic basis of *all* totalitarian dictatorships. The only difference that is left is the ideological difference between fascism and Communism, and this only serves to mask the identity of the two. Of course, after such a masterpiece of "logic," it is hardly proper to ask why these ideological differences should exist, or why world capitalism, that is, anti-democratic monopoly capitalism, is so desperately anxious to destroy socialist Russia and so impatient to win the fascist countries for a joint war against the Soviet Union.

Where, then, have we finally arrived in our "understanding of democracy and its relation to socialism"? Summarizing Corey's "reconsideration" thus far, we get: (1) The entire socialist movement and its ideology have collapsed. (2) The "radicals" have a tremendous job of revaluation in order to learn how to ensure democracy under socialism. 3. The revaluation demonstrates (a) that socialist economy contains a totalitarian potential, (b) that socialist economy gives rise to a new bureaucratic class which uses its economic and political power to destroy democracy, and (c) that it isn't really socialist economy, and if it is, democracy is impossible under it anyway. But how can such a "theory" offer any practical basis for the attainment of democracy under socialism? The answer is: If in the "theoretical" part you "prove" that we *cannot* have socialism *and* democracy, in the practical part you simply repeat that we *must* have socialism *and* democracy. After all, the procedure has its precedent in a better man than Corey, Germany's great philosopher, Immanuel Kant, who destroyed God in theoretical reason only to revive him in practical reason.

No wonder that, when it is all over, the only thing left to the "radical forces crying out for a regrouping" is an "accent on democracy." With this "accent" Corey proposes to "recreate democracy and socialism." Undoubtedly, this is quite a job for an "accent" to accomplish, in view of the enormous difficulties. But then, all that has to be done is to build the economic readjustments of socialism on "democratic procedures and values" and "democracy" on the "economic readjustments of socialism." Since the "accent" consists of "democratic procedures and values," and these in turn consist of freedom, individual dignity, and tolerance, the task should be comparatively simple. Of course, the only thing missing is the explanation of how all these admirable items are to be realized. But Mr. Corey has the answer for that, too. It is not without justice, therefore, that the old army general said: "A pessimist is one who makes difficulties out of his opportunities; an optimist, one who makes opportunities out of his difficulties."

The substance of Corey's first article may be epitomized in two sentences. Marxism failed, socialism led to totalitarianism, what we need is an accent on democracy. We failed to get democracy under socialism (1) because the method of getting it was wrong; (2) because socialism itself must be placed on a different basis. Judging from the fact that Corey wrote a second and third article dealing with each of these points respectively, it seems that Corey himself had the feeling that his first article did not do justice to his case.

Turning to the second article we therefore find ourselves back with the question of how to ensure democracy under socialism. What new light does this article shed beyond what has already been said? With the exception of a new display of dishonesty and confusion, it is substantially a repetition of his previous contentions in a new form. This time we learn that Marxism has suffered from a twofold misconception of the problem of the transition to socialism. It misunderstood democracy and it developed a disastrous emphasis on the proletariat as the carrier of

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socialism. Marx made the mistake of seeing in democracy merely a means for the proletariat to seize power and establish its dictatorship in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Reformist socialism made the mistake of not broadening the struggle for democracy into a struggle for socialism. And as for the Bolsheviks, they simply led to tragedy, apparently by avoiding the mistake of reformist socialism and giving life to the mistake committed by Marx. Since the source of all these mistakes is the catastrophic emphasis on the proletariat as the bearer of socialism, the socialist movement failed to clarify its relations to other classes. To ensure democracy, therefore, it is necessary to abandon the old class concept and develop a new approach to the farmers and the new middle class of salaried employees and professionals. Such is the thesis of Corey's second article. Let us examine it.

Marx, Corey agrees, was historically justified in emphasizing the proletariat as the "carrier" of socialism, because in Marx's day "none but the brutally exploited proletariat could be identified with socialism." But, he says, this emphasis was valid "only as long as the workers were struggling for greater democratic rights and well-being within capitalism. When the fight finally became a struggle for socialism itself, the emphasis on the proletariat revealed its disastrous limitations." Why? Because, when "socialism approached political power, especially in Germany," it failed to get the support of the non-proletarian groups necessary for a democratic majority, and it failed because its emphasis on the proletariat alienated the middle classes and peasants who saw in socialism an expression only of proletarian interests. In Russia, "revolutionary emphasis on the proletariat led to the Bolshevik tragedy."

Thus, the arguments Corey advances do not actually constitute an objection to Marx's basic analysis of the proletariat as the bearer of socialism. They are merely an objection to the *emphasis* on this fact on the ground that this emphasis isolated the proletariat from the other classes, preventing the realization of socialism. And yet, with his characteristic logic, the conclusion he draws is that the class concept itself must be abandoned because it prevents not only the realization of socialism but of democracy under socialism when it is realized.

Now, if the class concept is a fallacy because by accepting it the approach to other classes is cut off, thereby cutting off the basis for democracy, then it is true that by excluding these other classes, the possibility of the victory of socialism is also cut off. On the other hand, if by excluding these other classes you can't even get to socialism, let alone democracy under socialism, when you do achieve socialism, under these circumstances you thereby achieve democracy also. The Bolsheviks, therefore, didn't fail because they destroyed democracy; they must have failed, according to Corey's reasoning, because, by their emphasis on the proletariat, they never

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even established socialism. For, had they established socialism, they would automatically have had democracy. Once more, therefore, the only way you can deny the existence of democracy *in the Soviet Union* is by denying the existence of socialism there. Yet if this is so, what happens to Corey's original "theory" of the "totalitarian potential" in socialist economy? As we see, we haven't advanced an inch beyond the first article. What was there presented as "theory," is here presented as "history." The only difference is that the falsity of the one is outdone by the falsification of the other.

FALLACY EXPOSED

Marx did not conceive of the socialist revolution as an exclusively proletarian action. He merely proved that in the struggle for *socialism,* the proletariat is the main driving force, not because no other classes would take part in the revolution, but because the proletariat is the only social force around which all the others could rally. Socialism can only be established on the basis of modern industry freed from the domination of capitalist private property. Just as modern industry is the material basis of socialism, so the product of this industry, the modern proletariat, is the social class most fundamentally concerned with the establishment of socialism and the abolition of exploitation that accompanies it. Marx's emphasis on the proletariat, therefore, was not an emphasis of exclusion of the other classes arrayed against capital; it was only a statement of the actual relation between these classes, in which the proletariat occupies the leading position.

Reformist Social Democracy did not fail to attain socialism because it emphasized the proletariat and thereby alienated the other democratic classes. It failed because it did not emphasize the interests of the proletariat; because it emphasized cooperation with the capitalist class, substituting class collaboration for class struggle. It therefore failed to unite the other classes around the proletariat for the struggle against capital. As Corey himself says, it strove only for "greater democracy" within capitalism, not for socialism.

The Bolsheviks succeeded not because of any emphasis on the proletariat to the exclusion of other non-capitalist classes, but because they *won and united* these other classes in an alliance with the proletariat under the leadership of the proletariat. They did what Corey says German Social Democracy failed to do; they broadened the struggle for democracy into a struggle for socialism, and they succeeded because they applied and developed Marx's teachings on the class struggle, the proletarian revolution, and the proletarian dictatorship.

If Corey were really consistent in his distorted statements, he would say: By its emphasis on the proletariat, Social Democracy failed to win the support of the other classes necessary for the victory of socialism; it therefore failed when the fight finally became a struggle for socialism itself. The Bolsheviks also emphasized the proletariat, but that did not prevent them from seeking and securing the support of the non-proletarian groups necessary for the victory of socialism; they therefore succeeded when the fight finally became a struggle for socialism. But, since this would immediately expose the fallacy of his original premise, Corey merely announces that the emphasis on the proletariat also led to the "Bolshevik tragedy," depending upon the emotional appeal of his slander to serve as an argument.

In declaring that "socialism" failed to clarify its relation to other classes, Corey deliberately includes Social Democracy and Bolshevism under the same head, in order to cast the onus of Social Democracy's failure on the Bolsheviks also. Thus the whole historical struggle between Bolshevism and Social Democracy over the path to socialism is wiped out and falsified. If Social Democracy failed to understand, or even raise, the whole question of winning other non-capitalist classes to the struggle for socialism, it is primarily because they did not want to pose the question of socialist revolution. If the Bolsheviks raised and clarified the problem of the allies of the proletariat, it is because they actually *put* the question of socialist revolution. In doing this, they restored and developed the teachings of Marx, as Corey himself admits. That is why Leninism is the Marxism of the present period, the epoch of decaying capitalism and proletarian revolutions, when the transformation of capitalism into socialism is the historical order of the day.

Only by such falsification can Corey declare that there never was "a specific program of transition from capitalism to socialism; never a clear picture of where non-proletarian groups fit into socialism and the struggle for socialism." But does Corey really mean that socialism has failed to clarify its relation to other *classes?* Again, he apparently does not mean what he says, because now he informs us that the "older class concept has been historically outlived." What we need, he says, is a "functional approach" which "reveals more understanding and assures a greater unity than the class approach with its tortured and ambiguous emphasis on the proletariat." What, then, becomes of the classes in society? They are still there, of course, for Corey cannot deny them out of existence. But since they are only an objective economic reality, they are not much help in winning the non-proletarian "groups" to socialism; what counts, Corey insists, is the technical, physical function of these people and the interests arising from this. It would seem, therefore, that what socialism has failed to clarify is its relation to the technical, physical functions of non-proletarians and not to the classes to which they belong!

Now, the Communists are the last ones to quarrel with anyone who says that it is necessary to approach farmers as farmers and technicians as technicians. But how does this invalidate the *class* concept or the necessity of conducting a *class* struggle in order to

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achieve socialism? After you have convinced the farmers and technicians to join the struggle for socialism, by appealing to their occupational interests, you still have the task of waging that struggle. But what is the nature of this struggle? It is a fight to abolish capitalist property relations, to replace the capitalist economic system by a socialist economy. It is therefore a struggle to transfer economic and political power from the hands of the capitalist class to the hands of the non-capitalist classes. The issue is thus an economic and political issue and not a "functional" issue; it is a class struggle, not a functional struggle. And necessarily so, for what is at stake is not the physical occupation of the workers, farmers, and technicians, but the ownership of the productive apparatus of the country. It is not the functions of the people that need to be changed, but the social conditions under which they are performed. Hence, when you surrender the class approach to the struggle against capitalism, you surrender the struggle itself.

In reality, Corey insists on a "functional" approach because he does not want to change the class position of the groups he proposes to win for socialism. The farmers, he says, "must be assured the independent ownership they want. Collectivization is both unnecessary and undesirable." But how is it possible to have socialism, that is, production for use, without large-scale production in industry and agriculture? Moreover, to permit agriculture to remain on a private basis, while industry is socially owned, is to condemn socialism to a mortal contradiction between two antagonistic systems. Private ownership by independent producers with the corresponding market relations that this entails, is the historical source of capitalist private property. It could only represent a breeding ground for capitalist elements within the socialist system.

As for the other class which Corey singles out for a special approach, the "new middle class" of salaried employees and professionals, he appeals to them to support socialism because it will give them positions of privilege and power. And yet, he accuses the Soviet Union of totalitarianism on the ground that power is in the hands of this same stratum of salaried employees and professionals.

The reason for Corey's petty bourgeois conception of socialism is not difficult to discover. Since he contends that socialist economy produces totalitarianism, making it impossible for democracy to flourish, the only thing left to do is to think up the kind of "socialism" that will harmonize with the kind of "democracy" Corey has in mind. And since Corey cannot imagine democracy without the "freedom" of conflicting class interests, it is only logical for him to project a class "socialist" society in place of the classless socialist society that we have in the Soviet Union. This is how Corey abolishes the class concept and "insures democracy under socialism"!

A. LANDY.

This is the second of three articles by Mr. Landy. The final one will appear next week.

Dr. Rauschning

THE VOICE OF DESTRUCTION, *by Hermann Rauschning. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.75.*

DR. RAUSCHNING'S books tend to make history as much as they tell about it. He is the chief source of the ideas, such as they are, which find their way into columns like Dorothy Thompson's and speeches by none other than Duff Cooper. He is one of the few Germans whom the French and British governments neither fear nor despise. They rather find him useful. Some months ago Dr. Rauschning helped to form a German "national council" to take power upon the expected fall of the Hitler regime. His best known partner was former Chancellor Bruening; the cabal did not list Hermann Goering but they have nonetheless counted heavily on him. This so-called shadow cabinet has been encouraged in London though it is suspect in Paris where there are no good Germans, not even the dead ones (an otherwise intelligent paper like *l'Ordre* has been running a series of articles to prove that all the great Germans of the past were no better than Hitler, and in this list they even included—Heinrich Heine). Dr. Rauschning is the minister of propaganda of the group. His former book, called here *The Revolution of Nihilism,* earned the post for him.

Dr. Rauschning has a unique claim as an authority on Hitlerism. Not only was he one of the fuehrer's followers, an officer of the Storm Troops, and president of the Danzig Senate under a Nazi majority, but he attended meetings of the inner circle of the party and government at which Hitler shouted his most intimate thoughts. He broke away in 1935, two years after Hitler seized power. Though National Socialism has had other defections, it never has had a more distinguished one—who managed to live long enough to write a book. Compared to Dr. Rauschning, Otto Strasser of the so-called Black Front is a mere pretender trading on the reputation of his more talented brother, Gregor.

It seems that after Dr. Rauschning listened to Hitler, he carefully remembered the very words until he put them down on paper in the form of elaborate notes. This habit made possible *The Voice of Destruction,* which is presented as a reliable record of what Dr. Rauschning heard. Is it a trustworthy record? We must take the author's word for it. It is possible to check up on it frequently, but as a result we have learned nothing really new. Obviously this test puts Dr. Rauschning at a disadvantage since he is determined to startle us with novelties. Nevertheless the problem is of the first importance, especially in view of the fact that certain discrepancies turn up and certain information has almost certainly been withheld. At bottom, then, the reliability of the book is no higher than our trust in Dr. Rauschning. Since that trust is very high at the moment in many quarters, the book hasn't suffered much. But this may not always be so.

Dr. Rauschning's portrait of Hitler is the one we have come to expect, only more so. It

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is the case history of a schizophrenic, a man of abnormal extremes. Hitler is either depressed and silent or enraged and howling. He makes decisions mainly by instinct, though Rauschning does not deny his supremacy over his co-workers. His most creative talent is that of "simplification" at the proper psychological moment. He gets at the "elemental." Is this not the very Hitler which Hitler himself has tried to impress on the world—the Hitler of divine impulse, unerring intuition, inspiration? It is; and so, most unexpectedly, we come back to the starting point with Dr. Rauschning. Sir Nevile Henderson once remarked on Hitler's "carefully calculated patience." Perhaps he penetrated to a point in Hitler's character beyond Dr. Rauschning.

The same difficulty arises in the realm of ideas. The material is very uneven and must be carefully sifted. Even when the information is reliable, it does not necessarily follow that Hitler still believes in the same things. The events of the past five years may have taught him, even him, something.

A large portion of Hitler's monologues may be classified as horror stories. He tells Albert Forster how he plans to wage bacteria warfare through harmless, commercial travelers; he longs for the "primitive life, the life of the savages"; he outlines a depopulation policy by forcefully colonizing Germans in Slav lands; he glorifies the "blessings of illiteracy" for the common people. Enough of such barbarism has been carried out by the Hitler regime to make us hesitate to distrust even the most evident raving.

Closely related with these extreme aims are others which **Dr. Rauschning** skillfully uses to scare the middle class of the Western powers, especially the United States. Hitler is supposed to have admitted that he has learned from the Bolsheviks, which conveniently ties into the Allied propaganda that Communism and fascism are the same. On another occasion, he declares: "The part played by the bourgeoisie is finished—permanently, my party comrades." He promises to replace the cross with the swastika and generally reviles Christianity, particularly Protestantism; Dr. Rauschning reports "the reeking miasma of furtive, unnatural sexuality that fills and fouls the whole atmosphere round him, like an evil emanation." Sometimes the author slips up. On one page, Hitler boasts that he studied the works of "Lenin and Trotsky and other Marxists [*sic*]." On another, Dr. Rauschning assures us that "he rarely reads a book through; usually he only begins it."

Hitler had a good, healthy respect for the Soviet Union, according to Dr. Rauschning, whom he told: "They're a lot of quibbling Jews. You never get anywhere with them." He also declared: "Russia, whether she is to be a partner or an enemy, is our equal and must be watched." He expressed the fear that Germany might be "absorbed" if relations became close. Yet he admitted that such an "alliance" might not be avoidable, and would be "the decisive gamble of my life." In that case, he would attack the Soviet Union as soon as his ambitions in the West were satisfied. Dr. Rauschning learned all this in the spring of 1934, and even if we may trust this portion of his record, it is extremely confused and almost contradictory. Its essentials were already used in *The Destruction of Nihilism* where, however, the author gave them with greater clarity, perhaps because he made no effort to quote directly from Hitler.

What, for example, are we to make of the passage in which Hitler boasts that he could easily Germanize the Baltic countries? Germany, he says, will never give them up because she requires them as much as Bohemia, West Prussia, and Silesia. But Hitler has now done just that. He has removed the German barons who ruled in the Baltic for many generations. Did Dr. Rauschning misunderstand him? Perhaps, but not necessarily. What does matter is that it would be a silly mistake to take too seriously every passage in these rambling conversations. Dr. Rauschning's admirers have sinned foolishly in this respect.

I doubt whether the author has produced anything very new or very valuable in this book. His previous book and Hitler's own book are still vastly superior for an insight into the Third Reich. But Dr. Rauschning has produced some new and very valuable details about himself. That is important because we get to know Hitler only through him.

What is he like? It is hard to say. Of only one thing am I certain: that Dr. Rauschning has not told the truth about himself. Nor has he concealed it very cleverly.

Is it believable that Hermann Rauschning, in the very years when the Nazis thought highly enough of him to entrust him with an important post, should never have spoken to Hitler except to disagree and even to ridicule? It would almost seem from his story that he played the role of the devil's advocate in the Nazi inner circle. He argued against Hitler's plans in the United States; he "expressed doubts" about Hitler's ability to undermine Great Britain; he tried to teach Hitler the dangers of inflation but in vain; he "spoke in contradiction to Hitler's opinion" about the possibilities in Danzig; he protested to Hitler that "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" were a forgery. Never did he support his fuehrer on a single thing. Surrounded by yes-men, he alone dared to talk back.

Not only is this strange but the strangest of all the revelations is at least as damaging to Dr. Rauschning as to his former cronies. It is well known that the Nazis managed to "win" the critical elections of March 5, 1933, because they used the Reichstag fire as a pretext to suppress the election rights of the anti-fascist parties. Afterwards, Dimitrov's valiant self-defense rang through the world. In the Leipzig courtroom, he turned prosecutor and amazingly accused Goering of the crime. One man knew and could prove that Dimitrov was innocent and that Goering was guilty. That man was Hermann Rauschning. For, as he relates in this book, shortly after the fire he heard Goering, in the lobby of the Reich Chancellery, boast about the deed. Here are Dr. Rauschning's exact words: "Goering described how 'his boys' had entered the

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Reichstag building by a subterranean passage from the President's Palace, and how they had only a few minutes at their disposal and were nearly discovered. He regretted that the 'whole shack' had not burnt down. They had been so hurried that they could not 'make a proper job of it.'"

For two more years, despite this knowledge, Dr. Rauschning remained an important Nazi. As a matter of fact, he easily digested much more of the same criminal confidences and resigned on a comparatively minor point. But it may be claimed that he could not speak out while he was still in Germany or in Danzig. Perhaps, but there is no answer for this: he managed to keep the secret to himself for at least four long years after he fled to safety. Evidently he possessed a very elastic conscience. It is as though somebody should boast today that he knew exactly and from the beginning who committed the crime for which Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered and, moreover, to do so with the halo of the highest morality.

Nor, so far as I know, has Dr. Rauschning ever boasted about an interesting book which he wrote in 1934. Its title was *The Degermanization of Western Prussia and Poznan: Ten Years of Polish Policy*. This book developed the argument which the Hitler regime used in 1939 to invade Poland.

The importance of Dr. Rauschning is that he and his kind are the chosen successors of Hitler if the Western powers win. A trusted Nazi yesterday, a confessed monarchist today —is this man the best that British and French imperialism can dig up to represent their "new Europe"? That he is betrays their real war aims.

To Dr. Rauschning we may be indebted for a good deal that we know about Hitler. But if we read him well, we should never want to accept any Rauschnings instead.

THEODORE DRAPER.

Housman's Complete Poems

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF A. E. HOUSMAN. *Henry Holt & Co. $3.*

A. E. HOUSMAN was spared in his lifetime the solecism of having his "last poems" followed by "more poems," and these by "additional poems." There is something a little ridiculous in the procedure; as, given the least distortion of the firm line he set for himself, there might have been something grotesque or ridiculous in the figure of Housman himself. But he remains a man we must respect, a person of dignity and worth, a fine poet if not quite the "universally acknowledged greatest poet of our day"; and we are accordingly deeply interested in his first, and, it may be, final appearance of his collected poems.

The present volume supplements, if it does not much enhance, the Housman legend. The choral translations from the Greek tend rather in the Murray-Swinburne-Lear direction, and are, in my opinion, overpraised by the author of the blurb on the jacket; Housman was

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happier when he was writing parody on this sort of thing than when he was seriously doing it. His translation of Horace's *Diffugere nives* ode, however, is very fine; and one would have liked to see included in the present collection some, if not all all of the verses he himself composed in Latin. The "additional poems" in general testify to Housman's resolute correctness in rejecting material when mannerism had prevailed over manner and matter. The volume as a whole is a little full-blown, a little blowsy, for the hard nuclear art it encompasses—the type a bit large for the page, the book too big to slip into the pocket. But even if it must be consulted only on the desk or from the shelf, it is good to have all this together. Particularly the section dealing with the chronology of the poems has a telling interest, with such notations as "Begun 1905, finished April 1922," "First stanza 1922, others much earlier," "1900-1922," and so on. In other words, ten, twelve, seventeen, twenty years is not too long to be working over a poem, if you want to have it good.

Many other lessons there are, both moral and esthetic, that can be derived from the texts of this teacher; and some of them have been mentioned before a good many times. They might be worth repeating, but the present reviewer, on the present occasion, will confine himself to one instance, and that for its immediate value to folks on our side of the fence. Write your own homily for these two quatrains from the "additional poems":

The stars have not dealt me the worst they could do:
My pleasures are plenty, my troubles are two.
But oh, my two troubles they reave me of rest,
The brains in my head and the heart in my breast.

Oh grant me the ease that is granted so free,
The birthright of multitudes, give it to me,
That relish their victuals and rest on their bed
With flint in the bosom and guts in the head.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES.

Unhappy Land

THE HAPPY LAND, *by Eric Knight. Harper & Bros. $2.50.*

BY WAY of preface, Mr. Knight counterposes two quotations from Addison and Goldsmith. The first is idyllic: "How has kind heaven adorned the happy land,/And scattered blessings with a wasteful hand." The second is an early dirge of the industrial revolution: "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,/Where wealth accumulates, and men decay." So that, to begin with, the title is ironical. The land is Yorkshire, and it has been unhappy for many generations.

During these generations, the coal miners of Apley Moorside have torn the wealth of England out of the dark pits. They have bred girls for the factories and young men for the armies of Britain. And today they are the victims of what the London financiers term "sterilization of redundant industry." They inherit not the earth but the Means Test, the meager dole, the labor camp, and conscription. Their children grow fat —and get rickets—on bread and margarine. Their tiny rooms in Colliers' Fold are the scenes of countless tragedies of spiritual frustration and physical starvation. As one reads the story of their lives, blighted by poverty and unemployment, one recalls the vast community of suffering of which they are a part: the French workers in the Voreux mine of Zola's *Germinal,* the Irish peasants of Liam O'Flaherty's *Famine,* the American migratories of *The Grapes of Wrath.*

In a number of separate scenes, Mr. Knight is extremely effective. He is at his best when he deals with the group life of the distressed Yorkshire area, which he knows at first hand. His real talents as a humorist, which were evident in *Song on Your Bugles* and *The Flying Yorkshireman,* find expression here in his sympathetic portrait of the human foibles of the plain people and in his thrusts at the heartless and corrupt bigwigs in London. He can modulate from tenderness to indignation without advance signals to make sure of his effect. His dialogue is extraordinarily rich, whether in the lusty or the pathetic mood.

All the more reason to regret the serious shortcomings of the book. The structure is episodic and loose. The conclusion is fuzzy, with Thora Clough, the central character, marrying into money, her brother Matt thrown into prison, the other brother Fred going from a labor camp into the war, and her father degenerating into drunkenness. The workers never succeed in forming an effective organization. The Communist Ryan Thomas, who looms as an important character at the beginning, suddenly drops out of the story when he is taken to Spain; he reappears just as suddenly on one page which describes his murder by the fascists. The socialist analysis of society is garbled in the words of the old and semi-comic drinking companion of Tom Clough, Napper. And there is a painful insistence at the end of the book—which coincides with the outbreak of the war—that the world has gone "mad."

Indeed, the impression is inescapable that the book is torn between two impulses of the author, and that its defects are due to this unresolved conflict. One impulse suggests that there is a social-economic pattern in the suffering of the Yorkshiremen, that the solution to their difficulties depends upon the abrogation of their oppressors' financial and political power. The other impulse is confused and defeatist; it generalizes the "madness" of mankind; and it seeks personal salvation through the proud independent spirit of Thora. One is affected by the contrast between the moments when Mr. Knight writes with firmness and conviction and those in which he wavers. There is a division of purpose. There is no total commitment to the perspective of the working class in this novel, even though the best impulses of the author pull him toward such a commitment in the most eloquent and penetrating pages of the story.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Steelton, USA

NO BIRDS SING, *by Leslie Edgley. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50.*

THIS first novel offers a moving, if bleak, portrait of a young worker who cannot find himself—or others. Nick Mooney returns from ten months' fighting with the International Brigade in Spain to his small home town in the Chicago steel belt. Vaguely, he hopes that the dreariness and complacency of the town will have changed during his absence. But Steelton before Spain is the same as Steelton after Spain. One difference develops in his chance meeting of a young Lithuanian girl from "the other side of the tracks." Nick's despair, his angry revolt from day to day frustration, is temporarily diverted by their love.

Months of searching fail to produce employment. Finally, his grandfather's death brings with it the possibility of a $12 a week job ("Because we try to care for our employees' families, you know"), but even this meager opportunity evaporates as the company physician discovers Nick's Spanish shrapnel wound ("Don't you know Steelton Iron and Steel don't hire any godamned communists?"). Those acquainted with the insulation and prejudices of small-town life will recognize many familiar faces in *No Birds Sing.* One appreciates particularly the treatment of the Lithuanian colony in which Elena lives as an example of an ostracized and segregated nationality group. But the treatment of the growing labor movement in the steel centers is less satisfying. The novel is interesting largely as a sympathetic study of those who witness and feel social struggle but who have not yet been actively drawn into its arena.

JUDITH SAYRE.

Stories by Kay Boyle

THE CRAZY HUNTER, *by Kay Boyle. Harcourt, Brace & Co. $2.50.*

KAY BOYLE writes a good yarn of the fancier variety: strange, overwrought characters, isolated regions and unique situations, and a rarefied, often precious way of writing. There is a quality of suspense, a curiosity on the reader's part to know just what will happen to these people, whose lives always contain an eerie element of violence in the offing. "Big Fiddle," the last of the three long stories in the book, is a sort of mystery tale on a higher intellectual plane: the story of a lonely man who, seeking through companionship to escape the memory of an undeserved prison term, is arrested for a murder he didn't commit. Through an error in craftsmanship—something extremely rare for Miss Boyle—the story's conclusion is given away long before the end, spoiling the effect. Even apart from this, "Big Fiddle" isn't successful but it does portray a recognizable human being in a recognizable society —which is also very rare for Miss Boyle. Neither the author's intuition and sensibility, nor her virtuosity, make up for the lack of substance in the book as a whole. B. G.

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S I G H T S A N D S O U N D S

Hollywood, Broadway, and Points East

"Virginia City," a Western movie with Civil War subject . . . Jerome Mayer's whodunit, "Goodbye in the Night." . . . And two art exhibitions.

HOLLYWOOD has tried every variation of the cowboy and Injun story, but it finally seems to have reached a new high — or low. *Virginia City* is a very thrilling movie, lasting two hours, and every bit of it on the move, but if the story were seen in cold print, it would get a rejection slip from a pulp magazine. There is some exciting and dangerous stunt riding, the ambush of a wagon train with bandits substituting for Indians, the usual footage in the rough frontier bar with the anachronistically beautiful girls, and a heavy dose of sympathy for the Confederacy. The picture gains because it was largely shot on location in the Nevada hills around Virginia City, the home of the fabled Comstock Lode, the town that in the sixties was "the richest and roughest on the face of the earth." Now the place is a ghost town of a thousand people and four churches, and the Wonder Lode Bar is air-conditioned.

The plot concerns the attempts of Confederate agents to smuggle $5,000,000 in gold from Nevada to the South, and the successful attempts of Union agents to forestall the plot. The sympathies of the film are carefully counterbalanced, which of course cancels out any chance to throw light on the Civil War.

There's nothing much else to say, except that the picture is two hours and six minutes long.

JAMES DUGAN.

Whodunit?

"Goodbye in the Night," a mystery thriller.

THE chief virtue of a mystery-melodrama-horror-murder play is the audience-suspense. In *Goodbye in the Night* (at the Biltmore), neither Jerome Mayer, the author, nor George Abbott, the director, managed either. We are given, in Scene 1, a dangerous lunatic bent on revenge, escaping from his asylum. You know who he is and that he is going to kill. He starts killing; and by Scene III you know that the apparently harmless farmer in Scene II is the dangerous lunatic bent on revenge, and you don't care anyhow whether he gets caught or not. What is worse, from the standpoint of an audience that is looking for the spurious thrills of the mystery-melodrama-horror-murder play, the spectators scream with laughter instead of horror.

Several excellent actors are involved in this affair, notably James Bell, whose performance in *The Last Mile* will not soon be forgotten; Jean Adair, who executed a notable characterization in the recent *Morning's at Seven*, and a child-actress named Marilyn Erskine, who reveals a genuine creative gift for the theater. But the totality is a bore not a shock.

ALVAH BESSIE.

More Silk Screen

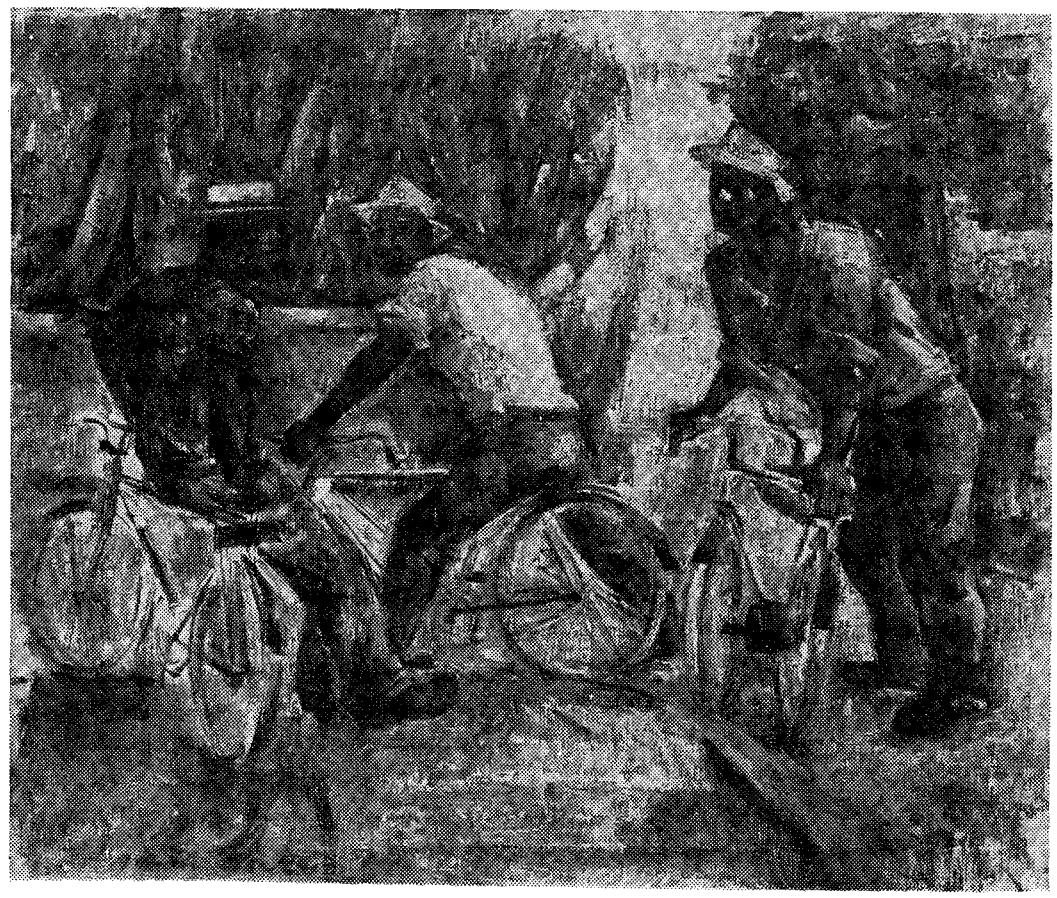
Exhibition at the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts.

THAT "lusty infant in the world of graphic art," the silk screen print, is growing almost faster than we can keep up with. Not long before the opening of the Weyhe Galleries (New York) exhibit (described in last week's NEW MASSES), a larger showing of silk screen prints opened at the Springfield, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts, continuing through March 31; after that it will be circulated through the country. The Springfield exhibit, which was assembled by Elizabeth McCausland, contains three sections: the first includes one print from every artist who has used the medium in the New York City WPA Art Project; the second comprises work by New York artists, some employed on the project and some not, and the third section presents work by members of the Artists Union of Western Massachusetts, co-sponsor with the Springfield museum of the exhibition. In her foreword to the catalogue, Miss McCausland says:

> Other graphic mediums, as lithography and photography, slowly won acceptance for creative expression, flowering after decades of evolution. Today silk screen stands where lithography did in 1800 or photography in 1840. It has been used for fine arts purposes for less than two years. The silk screen color print is thus an infant in the world of graphic art, although the method has been used commercially for posters and other advertising functions for three decades.

Twenty-four artists are represented in the Springfield exhibit, and others will be added before it goes on tour. The next showing of the prints, prices of which range from $5 to $10, will be at Rochester, N. Y., April 5-30.

Word also comes to us from Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark., that a course in silk screen work will be taught, beginning April 8, by Alice Selinkoff, formerly of the WPA Art Project's craft division.



BERMUDA WORKERS. *One of the paintings by Maurice Becker included in the exhibition of his work which will open on April 1 at the Artists Gallery, New York City. The paintings will be on exhibit for two weeks.*

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SHH!

IT ALL CAME OUT in last week's backwash of the Finnish war. Three different personalities told the same story: Dorothy Thompson, syndicated Cassandra of "Western civilization"; Leland Stowe, pseudo-liberal newspaperman who gave us all that Helsink-ing feeling; H. L. Mencken, light-heavy-weight champion of the nineteen twenties. Here are three folk different as you could find, giving excellent reasons why you, and your friends, should read NEW MASSES.

Miss Thompson admits she was "ill informed" about the Red Army. NEW MASSES readers weren't. Mr. Stowe apologizes for his correspondence; he didn't get the news until the war was over. Not so with readers of NEW MASSES. And Mr. Mencken chucks us under the chin for our military analyses "much sounder in fact . . . than the movie stuff radioed from Helsinki. . . ." Yes, indeed, NEW MASSES readers will agree.

Week in and week out, before and after the war started, NEW MASSES gave its readers a reasonable statement about events in Finland. We did that on our own. It was distinctly a minority opinion, but admittedly "much sounder in fact" than all the others. We did that with our very modest resources, under the fire of political and financial persecution. We relied only on the good faith and cooperation of our readers.

That cooperation is more necessary today than ever. Without it, we cannot expand the magazine that took all honors after the shooting was over. Reread NEW MASSES on a rainy Sunday afternoon, convince yourself of Mr. Mencken's conviction. Get your friends to make NEW MASSES a habit. Get them to subscribe—TODAY.

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of the war. Several facts emerged when the noise of battle died down on the Russo-Finnish front which matter greatly to the situation of Europe. One is the strength and importance of the Russian Army, about which most journalists, including this columnist, have been ill-informed. It is a factor to be reckoned with, and a big factor.

The success of Russia has thrown a scare into conservative neutral, Allied *and* German ranks and re-

Dorothy Thompson from her column in the N.Y. "Herald Tribune" 3/22

Nevertheless, this war has proved that Russia has an army and that its best divisions fight hard and courageously. Foreign correspondents in Finland have been criticized for failing to stress this fact. In reality it had not been established as a fact in the first two months of the Russo-Finnish war. Moreover, when the Red Army began to show its power, at the beginning of its six weeks' offensive, corre-

Leland Stowe on the Red Army in the Chicago "Daily News" 3/20

sometimes under their own names, but sometimes not. A few months ago it acquired a Marxian military critic, and I should add in candor that his disquisitions upon the Finnish-Russian war turned out to be much sounder in fact, if not also in morals, than the movie stuff radioed from Helsinki by the newspaper correspondents.

—o—

Up To Last summer the New Masses

H. L. Mencken on "New Masses" in the Baltimore "Sun" 3/17

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